# The New REPUBLIC

## A Journal of Opinion

VOLUME IX | New York, Saturday, December 23, 1916 | Number 112


## Contents


Editorial Notes ..... 198

Leading Editorials
- Peace Without Victory ..... 201
- For Lack of Help ..... 202
- Democratic Control of Scientific Management ..... 204

General Articles
- The Religious Revival: I. ..... H. G. Wells 206
- Assimilation (Immigration in the Light of History: IV) ..... Max Farrand 208
- Zuloaga ..... Leo Stein 210
- Twenty-Nine Months of War ..... Gerald Morgan 212
- American Society: II ..... Elsie Clews Parsons 214

Correspondence ..... 216

After the Play ..... F. H. 217

Reviews of Books
- An International Program ..... Edwin D. Dickinson 218
- The Poetry of Robert Frost ..... Padraic Colum 219
- Recent Publications ..... 222


WALL street placed the correct interpretation on the answer which Lloyd George returned to the peace proposals of the German Chancellor. At first the speculators bought stocks on the assumption of an uncompromising rejection of the overtures. Later when they realized that a loop-hole had been left for further negotiations, they unloaded with still greater zeal. Finally a cooler examination of the loop-hole made it look exceedingly small, and they wearily bought back some of their stocks. The promise of peace offered by the interchange of discourtesies which is now taking place between the two groups of belligerents is in truth a small plant of very tender growth, but at least its life is not yet extinguished. It is being nourished by so much weariness of war, by such an oppressive sense of the ghastly futility of the terrible sacrifices and by so much human blood and suffering that it may still survive. The German government has obtained an opportunity of proving how honestly it is negotiating for peace or how far its dominant object is to revive the fighting spirit of its own people. A truculent overture which rehearsed all the fighting phrases of Germany and celebrated German victory has received an equally truculent response, which refuses absolutely to admit defeat and which repeats the war cries of the Allied Powers. Yet the negotiation is carried one step further by a demand for terms and by a statement of certain very general conditions which these terms will have to satisfy. The real negotiation, if there is to be any real negotiation, will now begin. That it will result in a treaty of peace in the near future is utterly improbable because both groups of belligerents are insisting on terms which imply at least the partial defeat of their opponents. It may, however, bring about a conference, which will help to convert the war cries into vehicles of communication and restore the neutrals and both groups of belligerents to habitation in the same universe of discourse.

EVERYTHING now depends upon the nature of the German answer. Lloyd George has very properly refused to accept a conference until a common understanding is reached. He proposes as the basis of further negotiations an agreement on the part of the German government to make reparation for the past and to provide security for the future. The phrases look sufficiently unpromising, but they furnish a better platform for future negotiation than would a program of specific changes in the map of Europe which would necessarily ignore the realities of the existing military situation. The words restitution, reparation and security may, indeed, have been used by Lloyd George in a sense which will subsequently make all discussion unprofitable except with a Germany which has been "knocked out," but the German government does not need to interpret them as impossible and offensive. Although the words restitution and reparation almost certainly imply concessions which Germany will not consent to at present, yet she may be willing to promise measures of restitution which, when taken together with


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other proposals, could not be utterly rejected. The other proposals would, of course, turn upon the final phrase of Lloyd George. The Germans can convert the demand for sufficient security into the basis of really promising negotiation with the Allies. Candid Germans are now admitting that the behavior of Germany during the years before the war and at the outbreak of the war itself justified apprehensions on the part of its neighbors. If so, one indispensable condition of a satisfactory peace must be an honest attempt to allay these apprehensions. The spokesmen of the Allies contend that their fears can be allayed only by the emasculation of German military power. The German government is in a position to demonstrate the falsity of this contention by proposing to the Allies an international league organized expressly for the purpose of guaranteeing security to all its members. The Allied governments could not refuse to consider such a proposal and its consideration could not fail to result in an illuminating discussion, official and unofficial, of the most fundamental of all questions raised by the war. If Germany sincerely desires peace and general security, if she is ready to adopt a policy of live and let live, she has a sufficient opportunity of promoting these objects.

WE earnestly hope that the conferences now in progress between the brotherhood and railroad representatives will be successful in devising a way by which the controversy over the Adamson law can be settled out of court. The Adamson law was never intended as a permanent settlement. It was a modus vivendi, pending inquiry and experiment. The railroads should look upon it in that spirit. It is possible that the bill, hastily framed as it was, and dealing with a wage schedule of extreme complexity, does not in legal effect do what it was intended to do. It is barely possible that the Supreme Court might declare it unconstitutional. But no one who bears in mind the events of last September can have any doubt that what Congress meant to do, and what the Brotherhoods thought it had done, was to put before the railroads the alternative of reducing hours of work to eight and leaving wages as they are, or of working the men more than eight hours and paying proportionally for the excess. It should not be difficult, given the good will, to reach an agreement which would carry this purpose into effect. It is true that the railroads did not agree to the law when it was passed. They have considered that it was forced upon them, and that they are entitled to take advantage of technical defects and possible constitutional restraints to defeat it. But both railroads and men will soon stand before a Congress determined to devise as far as possible a permanent safeguard against a repetition of last summer's threat of industrial paralysis. If either side manifests an unwillingness to coöperate with Congress, to assist in the experiment from which Congress hopes for enlightenment, it can expect little consideration either from the Goethals committee or from Congress, or, for that matter, from the public. We believe that the railroads will find it to their own interest to live up to the spirit of the Adamson law, and discontinue their attempts to have it invalidated.

TO let the controversy over the Adamson law pursue its present course in the courts would at best be unsatisfactory. The law goes into effect January 1st. Argument before the Supreme Court will not be heard for more than a week after that date. Further time must elapse before the court comes to a decision, for the constitutional questions involved are so fundamental that no hasty disposition of the case will be possible. In the meantime the country will be in a state of grave uncertainty. If the Supreme Court sustains the law, only part of the difficulty will be solved. The detailed interpretation of the law, and its application to the actual wage schedules, will still be in controversy. That is a question which is not before the court, and it is unlikely that the court will step out of its way to decide it. If the law is declared unconstitutional, the whole controversy will be reopened, and the litigation will only have served to embitter the opponents. Moreover, the constitutional issues presented to the Supreme Court are of such supreme importance, determining, perhaps, the whole method of approach to the railroad and labor problem in the future, that the court should not be asked to decide them in a hurry, on the basis of a hastily drawn bill. Congress should be given time to present a carefully considered and well rounded law, manifesting an intent to assume full public responsibility for wage and working conditions on railroads, and a determination to safeguard the public against the abuse of unrestrained power by railroads or men. It is inconceivable that such a law would be annulled by the Supreme Court.

WHATEVER confidence Congress or public opinion throughout the country ever had in the present Chief of Staff of the army will be destroyed by General Scott's recent testimony before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. He may be a good soldier, but he should be forbidden in the future to disclose in public the mischievous folly of his political opinions. In his of-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ficial report published a few weeks ago he was ready to guarantee the security of the country with an army of 1,500,000 men. Now he suddenly discovers that twice 1,500,000 trained men are indispensable to national defense. Why? Because it is necessary for us to arm against a combined attack from Great Britain and Japan. But why not add France and Russia to the combination and deduce the need of an army of 6,000,000 trained men? It is easy to penetrate the object of these calculations. The most formidable obstacle which American commonsense has raised to universal service is the query: Why train so many soldiers when we do not need them? In the past a million trained men have been considered sufficient to defend the country against any probable expeditionary force; and no one has demonstrated that such a force could not be raised under a voluntary system. A really intelligent plan has never been tried. In order to reënforce the argument in favor of universal service, one must calculate, consequently, on the necessity of arming against a Power which could land an indefinitely large number of troops on this continent and whose control of the sea could not be disputed. Great Britain is the only Power which fills the bill. She could use Canada as a base for military attack on the United States, and her control of the seas would be unassailable. So General Scott has the abominable levity to propose that we adjust our military preparations to the necessity of fighting Canada and the British Commonwealth. Let us thank God we are still governed by civilians.

HOWEVER small the chance of ending the war in the near future, public opinion in all the chief belligerent countries except, perhaps, Russia, is slowly adjusting itself to peace. The earlier unanimity has become seriously impaired. An organized opposition is gradually coming into existence which has ideas of its own, different from those of the government, as to how the war should be conducted and upon what terms peace should be made. In Germany the mass of the nation is utterly sick of the slaughter and the government has begun negotiations for the purpose either of satisfying this craving for peace or of reconciling the nation to the costs of prolonged fighting. Whether it succeeds or fails, it will have to deal with active and serious domestic discontent. In France no less than one hundred and sixty-five deputies have refused a vote of confidence in the new government. How far the minority dissented because it believed in a war and peace policy different from Briand's, and how far the lack of confidence is personal, does not appear, but such a large minority vote proves the emergence in France of an increasingly formidable resistance, with which the government will have to count. Finally, the government of Lloyd George will be the first British Cabinet since the beginning of the war to be confronted by an organized opposition. The dissenting Liberals will be cautious in the beginning about embarrassing the government. They are likely to play the part of a candid friend rather than a consistent enemy. The fact remains, however, that the official leader of the Liberals has been excluded from the government. A predominantly Tory government will be confronted by an exclusively Liberal opposition which will increase in energy just in so far as the policy of the Cabinet clearly compromises the future of liberalism in the United Kingdom or elsewhere in the world.

PARLIAMENTS originated in Great Britain and were borrowed by France. Yet ten years from now the publicists who are analyzing the working of these parliamentary institutions during the war will find that they have stood the strain better in France than in the United Kingdom. The Chamber of Deputies has throughout retained much more effective control over the French Cabinet than the House of Commons has over the British Cabinet. The English House has practically abdicated. Its recent authorization of a semi-dictatorship consummates a long series of self-denying ordinances. The French Chamber of Deputies, on the other hand, has succeeded in being more independent and self-assertive because it was not paralyzed by the coercive discipline of a two-party system. There were always groups which did not wish to turn out the government, but which insisted upon checking its work. They criticized in secret session, but still they criticized. It is a remarkable triumph for the Republic, a flattering tribute to its vitality. The French, who were supposed to have a weakness for dictators and who could not get along without them in all national crises, have fought the most costly, trying and dangerous war in their national history without going as far as Great Britain in setting up a dictatorship.

ALTHOUGH the offensive section about political offenders has been considerably improved, President Wilson would be fully justified in vetoing the immigration bill. The strongest ground he can take is that it isn't statesmanship, it isn't commonsense, to enact a rigid barrier based on literacy at a time when no two people are able to agree as to whether immigration after the war will be large or small, or where it will come from. The literacy test is of the same order of thinking which produced the Republican pseudo-panic in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the last days of the campaign. It is a shriek for protection before any one has had a chance to find out what the danger is. The true procedure in this matter, as in regard to the tariff, is to create an administrative commission with power to regulate the ebb and flow and the distribution of immigrants in accordance with the country's power of absorption at any given period.

## Peace Without Victory

IN the last year or so the Allies have often been urged by their friends to state the objects of the war in terms that could be written into a conceivable treaty of peace. "Prussian militarism" and "crushing Germany" might do as recruiting formulas, might serve to keep the nation in fighting trim, but as a guide to statesmanship they were futile. They meant everything and nothing, a new heaven and sometimes a new hell. As defined by a company of Englishmen which included Lord Curzon, Mr. Horatio Bottomley, Mr. Leo Maxse and Mr. H. G. Wells these battle cries would mean among other things a successful offensive to the Rhine, a parade of victorious Cossacks in Berlin, weird and wonderful amputations upon Austria-Hungary, a reform of the Prussian electoral system, dethronement of the Hohenzollerns, dissolution of the German Empire into its principalities, the surrender of the German navy, and so on in a series without end.

It has been evident for a long time why it was difficult for the official spokesmen of Great Britain to say what they were fighting for. They were fighting for victory, not for terms. They did not seek territorial gains for themselves, what they wanted was a "knockout." That is why all but a bare minority have been content with fighting phrases which helped them wage the war and allowed them to forget the difficulties of framing a peace. So the war dragged on, fresh allies were brought into the field by promises hard to fulfil, old allies were held tighter by dangerous commitments, and all the while the world saw an encircled and overmatched Germany win victories in the east. German prestige grew.

The Britain of Northcliffe, the Britain of the new ministry, knows that if it accepts a negotiated peace, no matter how moderate, the British Empire emerges from the war a less imposing thing than it was. And empires exist chiefly by being imposing things. Neither love, nor actual physical force, but prestige is the life of a successful empire. And no one can deny, no matter what his sympathies, that British prestige has been seriously lowered. It was to retrieve the loss, to erase the impression of blunder and muddle, to gather Britain together for another blow which might be a knockout, that Mr. Lloyd George was made Premier. And this is the moment that Germany selects for what is no doubt an inconsiderately liberal offer. Germany is offering imperial Britain peace without victory.

Unless the recent effectiveness of German diplomacy has been an illusion, unless the virulent conservatives require too much placating, the terms proposed will be moderate. A restoration of the status quo ante would soon reveal the fact that Germany's greatest and most enduring conquest in this war is that of her own allies. Without annexing a foot of invaded territory, she is mistress of an empire which she has led and organized from Hamburg to Bagdad. Germany can perfectly well afford to restore the Serbian kingdom and the Rumanian. Both of them will inevitably come within the German orbit, for while it is possible to restore their technical independence, it is not possible to restore their faith in Russia as protector of the Balkans. If peace is made now, small nations adjoining the Teutonic empires are likely for some time to be pro-German in policy, whatever they may be in sentiment.

Central Europe exists. At Gallipoli, at Saloniki, from Rumania, three times the Allies have tried to cut it apart, and failed. This Middle Europe is no empire won by conquest, to be assimilated merely by force. It rests on the strongest kind of economic foundation and is welded by the experience of the war.

Germany's bid for peace, her reported willingness to enter a league of nations, is a request for the acknowledgment and guaranty of Middle Europe. Many signs indicate that after prolonged vacillation, extending back many years before the war, Germany has at last settled on Middle Europe as her destiny. She holds that to-day. It presents enormous opportunities to German talent, and that is why there is statesmanship and not merely propaganda in Germany's increasing willingness to take up liberal as opposed to militarist ideas. The organization of Central Europe requires a peaceful world.

But the existence of Central Europe destroys completely the British theory of continental politics. The theory said roughly that there was to be a balance of power on the continent with Britain hovering over it and prepared to redress it by decisive intervention. It was a rôle that permitted British diplomacy to exert a maximum effect with a minimum of force. To-day Britain finds herself engaged with all her resources, one among a large aggregate of allies, and the result is deadlock. Subtract Britain, and the German group would be irresistible. The continental balance of power is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gone, at least until Russia becomes a modern state. Britain is no longer the interventionist who emerges from isolation to set things in balance. She is now an integral part of the continental system, a *part* of the balance of power, instead of its guardian. The rôle which was Britain's is passing to America, and President Wilson's offer to join a league of peace is really a recognition of the fact that the United States can guarantee the equilibrium and thus maintain at least a temporary security in the world.

The question which Germany has put to the Allies, but especially to Britain, is this: Do you recognize this new situation as unalterable and will you accept the loss of prestige which results from it? The answer must turn on a very difficult judgment of the military situation. If the Allies are humanly sure that at a bearable cost they can win a victory which will destroy the predominance of Middle Europe on the Continent and retrieve British imperial prestige, a rejection of the German proposal would be orthodox. But if they are once again underestimating the strength of the central alliance, if through vanity or stubbornness they are unable to face the facts, then a refusal to negotiate is an abominable waste of life, and the statesman who refuses peace now will have to answer for it next summer, perhaps a year from next summer. Woe to him if he orphans and widows and starves a million homes and is then forced to negotiate the same peace which is offered to him now.

Even though the Allies find reasons for continuing the war, they cannot help recognizing that their ability to prosecute it is seriously weakened. It will be impossible to sustain the picture of a Germany that will listen to no argument but the sword. Belgian deportations, zeppelin raids, and submarine " errors " will help Mr. Lloyd George, but nevertheless as the agony goes on, and a moderate German offer of peace exists, the psychological case of the Allies will deteriorate. British morale especially has depended on a deep popular conviction that the Allies were fighting for liberty and peace. The sense that the cause was just has mattered most in the British Empire, because it was not unified by invasion or rendered automatic by conscription. The British volunteered for a crusade, accepted compulsory service because they were told it would save them from a fearful menace. But even two and a half years of war will not have blotted out the island individualism. Once Germany offers peace on moderate terms, and steals the clothes of the liberals, Mr. Lloyd George will have to perform the staggering task of explaining to the British people the politics of prestige.

# For Lack of Help

IT is a matter of pride to America that the relief of Belgium was organized by a commission under Herbert C. Hoover, and carried out with American aid. There are circumstances connected with this work, however, which take away from any extravagant national satisfaction. They should really be the occasion of national shame.

None of these circumstances relates to the administration of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. The work of that commission is excuse for human pride, let alone American. At a time when the world was deaf with gunfire, an American proceeded without one waste motion to make war all by himself on the immediate bodily consequences of the invasion of Belgium, and soon to extend the name of America to a vast work of goodwill. For the first time in the history of war there was an outsider to take a comprehensive view of civilian pain and misery and suffering, to treat a prostrate country as the victim of a disaster similar in result to a plague or a blight, to obtain the permission of belligerents for the organizing of subsistence and succor. On this side of the project there can be nothing to diminish esteem.

Everyone knows how the Commission for Relief in Belgium undertook a task as humane as it was difficult, as difficult as it was indispensable. There were over 9,000,000 civilians blockaded in a territory that had never provided more than a fraction of its food or its fodder in time of peace, and had early lost most of its harvest and was totally cut off from its oversea supplies. From 2,500,000 to 3,500,000 of these blockaded civilians were not only at a loss for supplies but partly destitute even when supplies were forthcoming, and unable to go to work for factories debarred from export trade and from the importation of raw material. This was the situation into which the commission came, with Mr. Hoover in charge, and one belligerent in command of the sea-avenues and another in command of the population. It is common knowledge how Mr. Hoover intervened, and how England and Germany rationalized their enmity to give the commission its chance. Thirty-seven thousand volunteer workers came under the commission. Every Belgian civilian got his card for supplies, and wheat and bacon and rice and beans were purchased in primary markets for all Belgium and transported with special assistance from every side under protection of a special flag, and consigned without divergence through the canals of Belgium to communal committees, and distributed to the ultimate consumer without a grain's leakage or loss. The administration of these measures by the commission added an expenditure of no more than five-eighths of one per cent.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

While the number of Americans was well under a hundred in this work on the spot, their presence was an absolute requirement. Their neutrality assured England that the food went to the civil population, for whom it was intended, and the necessity for continuing this assurance to England kept the commission in service even after the work was felt to be ready for the Belgians themselves.

It is not as to the administration of the C. R. B., but as to its resources, that America's questionable position comes in.

The facts as to receipts and disbursements are quite simple. On November 1st, the commission announced that $173,658,913 had already been expended for the food and clothing distributed in Belgium and Northern France. Of this total over a hundred million dollars had been spent on the purchase of supplies in the United States. So much for disbursement. The funds thus laid out by the commission came from three sources: subsidies from the Allied governments of France and Britain, operations of a money exchange department, and public charity. The Allied subsidies totaled $183,000,000, partly free grants and partly loans to be liquidated after the war. The revenue from the exchange department has been small. Public charity has amounted to $23,503,771, of which the United States gave thirty-seven per cent and the British Empire nearly all the rest. As the funds are here indicated, they appear to be meeting the outlay, but there are factors now emerging which make the situation ominous for the whole work of relief.

These factors are defined by the C. R. B. itself, from its New York office, 120 Broadway. The subventions from the Allied governments, on the one hand, are exceedingly unlikely to be increased. The cost of food, on the other, has been enormously increased, and the effects of a minimal ration on a people insufficiently sheltered and clad is already filling the C. R. B. with alarm.

The consumption of wheat per person per day was cut from a normal portion of 670 grammes to under 300 grammes, as a result of the war. The consumption of supplementary food was also greatly reduced from the start. There was a shortage of fodder, a consequent sacrifice of live stock and a depletion of the milk supply. The effect of these unremitting deprivations may appear trivial to the outsider, even when he knows that 60 per cent of the population is absolutely dependent on the commission for food, and is unable to buy meat, butter or coffee, at the private prices of from $1.00 to $1.50 a pound. But the physiologist has been made horribly aware of the consequences of this slow starvation. He has seen malnutrition at work on the 2,575,000 growing children under 17, not less than 1,000,000 of whom are dependents, and he has already recorded a sharp increase of tuberculosis. To arrest this disease he now prescribes a special noonday lunch each day in the schools and other controlled establishments. The cost of this meal is estimated at $1 per child per month, or $1,000,000 a month extra. This expenditure is regarded as necessary to safeguard the growing children by all the child specialists to whom the C. R. B. has gone for advice. And this $1,000,000 a month is now besought from benefactors in the United States. The need is startling. Men just back from Belgium say that *of course there is no sensational famine, but children are emaciated, they faint from hunger in school, they drift to death.*

If citizens of the United States had never professed horror at the treatment of Belgium, it would be idle to examine their attitude on Belgian relief. Their attitude, however, needs to be examined. No one has yet had time to forget the enormous indignation that was generated in this country when Germany violated Belgium. It was, in most instances, a normal response to the crime, an impulse on the part of ordinary decent human beings to throw their weight into the scales against injustice, to enlist in the forces of the world organized to punish such acts and discourage their renewal. But while indignation, the punitive impulse, moved many Americans and still moves them, there were a hundred persons who denounced the wickedness of Germany to one who sought in the least measure to remit the direct consequences of that evil. Among well-off people in Boston and Philadelphia and Chicago and New York, to name only the major groups, there was a protestation at the outrage of Belgium that sounded like a depthless pity turned to anger. The hatred of cruelty seemed to tear the hearts of these Americans. Misery and suffering were the portion of Belgium, and men cried for war because of it. A war, it is true, would have cost much money. The military budget of 1915 came to $240,000,000 without any war. But Belgium was so grave a betrayal of international confidence that the anger at German aggressiveness reached, in well-to-do circles, the fighting pitch.

But not the disbursing pitch. These well-to-do Americans wanted to shed their blood to avenge Belgium. They were not equally willing to shed their dollars to keep life in the bodies of Belgian children. Theirs was a remarkably loud cry for remarkably little wool. Up to last July all Massachusetts scrabbled together about $235,000 for Belgium. In the same period South Australia sent Belgium $446,000, or proportionally to the population eight times as much. The passionate Penn-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sylvanians managed to send $370,000, in contrast with $2,936,000 from New South Wales. The inhabitants of New South Wales were proportionately 38 times as generous as the frantic sympathizers in Pennsylvania. Illinois poured out $143,000 in the course of twenty months of high emotion about Belgium. New Jersey sent $19,000 in 20 months.

Most people feel that the first impulse aroused by needless suffering is the impulse to assuage it, that if the remedy for suffering is made clear, decent human beings cannot fail to apply it, cannot go on in negligent consciousness of damaging want. Back of all the platitude and hypocrisy and convention of public expression, there is this persistent belief in the fund of human goodwill, this belief that it will be applied if it is once excited—a belief to which Christmas, for all the irony of war and the strategy of "peace," is still the recurrent witness and testament.

If this is the case, the stark need of Belgium should pierce every American consciousness this Christmas. A country in such plight as Belgium is an appeal to more than easy indignation. It is a real appeal for urgent help, for lack of which children must die.

## Democratic Control of Scientific Management

ORGANIZED labor's hostility to scientific management, culminating in a successful congressional campaign to exclude it from government plants, is a serious menace to productive efficiency in America. In discounting the great contribution which scientific management has made by reducing the wastes of production and in bringing a blanket indictment against scientific management because of the undemocratic elements in its application, organized labor is doing a disservice not only to industrial progress, but also to society, including labor itself.

But there can be no doubt that the arbitrary hostility of labor is largely a reflection of the arbitrary and unscientific dogmatism of the efficiency engineers. Their science is new; it was born and had its development within the walls of individual plants, so that not unnaturally they were preoccupied with the internal medicine of production. They have made the mistake of assuming that the problem of productive efficiency is co-extensive with the problem of industrial reorganization. The attitude of these doctors of industry closely resembles that of physicians in the early days of specialization when the medical profession concentrated upon the diagnosis and treatment of disease in the patient, neglecting the social and economic conditions which are the culture beds of disease.

Organized labor claims that scientific management treats the workman merely as part of the productive mechanism and ignores his rights as a citizen whose major interests lie outside the walls of the plant. In a recent magazine article, Mr. Benjamin A. Franklin, a distinguished scientific manager, says:

> Any plea that labor is to be taken into the free and complete confidence of the executive, and have a full knowledge of his plans would be as little heeded as a plea that the privates of an army should know the detail assignments and changes of the corps as it moves and shifts. . . . What, then, does every executive desire from labor? He desires from labor, first, a hearty coöperation in his daily work; and, second, an increasing skill from day to day.

This disposition to regard the workman exclusively as an integral and relatively unsatisfactory part of the productive mechanism, and to deny that his status as a citizen outside the plant gives him any right individually or collectively to a voice in determining the conditions of production, was strikingly exemplified in the recent annual meeting of the Taylor Society. Here were assembled the most devout adherents of scientific management as taught by Mr. Taylor "when he walked among us on earth." They had given proof of their desire to be open-minded by setting aside two sessions for the discussion of the criticisms of labor. But no representative of organized labor was included in the program, and the term "collective bargaining," if mentioned at all, escaped our close attention. That labor individually or collectively has any right to a voice in management was not explicitly denied, but totally disregarded as being outside the range of scientific consideration. The prevailing exception of democratic control and of the right of the workman in the scheme of scientific management was most clearly expressed by Mr. Robert B. Wolf who paraphrased from an earlier printed address in which he said:

> My own experience has indicated that 90 per cent or more of the manufacturing operations which tend to make men animated machines can be made interesting by giving each individual a record of the performance of his work and by making comparisons with others. . . . He then feels that he is creating something and is happy. . . . The sooner we build a philosophy upon this basis the sooner will the present destructive social and industrial unrest be replaced by a constructive condition tending toward the true democracy—a democracy which is based upon a recognition of the true value of leadership and a willingness to be led by those whose main desire in life is to be of service to their fellow men.

Underlying this inverted conception of democracy is the fallacious economic theory almost universally professed by scientific managers, that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

scientific production establishes a complete harmony of interest between employers and employees. The most efficient production must include the wage and working conditions that will elicit the maximum product from the workman, who will therefore serve his own best interest as well as the best interest of his employer by yielding consent to the "natural law" of efficient production as revealed by the impersonal scientific analysis of the efficiency engineer. When impersonal science thus supersedes fallible human opinion, the worker, it is said, no longer needs the outside protection of his union, whose leaders, being without scientific knowledge, can interfere only to the detriment of himself and of the perfectly adjusted productive mechanism, in which scientific management has made him an integral part.

So runs the argument of the scientific managers. But organized labor contends that so long as industry is privately owned and science is applied primarily in the interest of shareholders, science, instead of being impersonally and comprehensively just, is likely to become an instrument of autocratic tyranny. For this reason, labor stresses its distinction between science in management, which it heartily endorses, and scientific management, to which it is cordially hostile. Labor insists that workmen as consumers and citizens have interests which are sharply opposed to the interests of the employer, and for this reason demands an equal voice with the management in controlling the conditions under which scientific improvements shall be introduced. For example, in using time-and-motion study as the basis for task-setting and the payment of wages, scientific managers, according to labor, have been neither just nor impersonally scientific. This contention has been given wide support by economists and notably by the late Professor Robert F. Hoxie, who wrote:

> When it comes to the actual setting of base rates, practically no consideration is given (by scientific managers) to any theory of accuracy and justice. The rates are fixed almost universally with reference to the prevailing wage levels of the region. . . . Scientific methods *per se* have a tendency to shift workers into lower paid grades. . . . Most scientific managers are possessed of a naïve faith that in some mysterious way, competition, unhampered by the "unnatural" efforts of labor unions, works out a just adjustment of absolute and relative base rates. That is to say, scientific management in this connection accepts consciously or unconsciously, an abandoned theory of economists as a common sense proposition and practically on this basis rears its claims to scientific accuracy and justice in the establishment of wage levels.

When such statements are made by organized labor, they are set aside as the maunderings of ignorant and self-seeking labor agitators; when they are made by trained economists, they strike blank amazement into the minds of efficiency engineers. Since wages are inexorably fixed by the "natural law of supply and demand" why make all this childish fuss about them! Among the guests of the Taylor Society was Professor Robert M. Haig of the Columbia University School of Business, who made a mild plea for economics as a science that might possibly have something to contribute to the problem of efficiency in industry. The sole response to this suggestion was from a member who leaped to the floor and cried with tense emotion:

> Professor Haig has told us that efficiency engineers ought to study economics; I want to tell him that it would be better if economists devoted themselves to the study of scientific management.

This narrow professional insistence on the all-sufficiency of their science to solve not only the technical problems of machine production, but also the problems of industrial society, is primarily responsible for organized labor's conviction that the disguised object of scientific management is to destroy their unions, their power of collective bargaining and their dearly won rights as citizens in a democracy. It is unfortunate that Congress, in its readiness to meet the protests of labor, should have gone to the extent of excluding scientific management from government plants. Mr. Taylor and his followers have made a major contribution to civilization. Society cannot afford to have this contribution sacrificed to the arbitrary unwillingness of organized labor and of scientific managers to reconcile their differences in the public interest. Our greatest need in America to-day is a working agreement between democracy and science. It is incumbent upon scientific managers and organized labor alike to discover a basis of understanding.

The New
REPUBLIC
*A Journal of Opinion*

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1916, IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY THE REPUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC., 421 WEST TWENTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. HERBERT CROLY, PRESIDENT, ROBERT HALLOWELL, TREASURER.

EDITORS
HERBERT CROLY WALTER LIPPMANN
PHILIP LITTELL FRANCIS HACKETT
ALVIN S. JOHNSON

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIFTY-TWO ISSUES, FOUR DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. SINGLE COPIES TEN CENTS. CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION FOUR DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE. FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR COUNTRIES IN THE POSTAL UNION, FIVE DOLLARS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.

REMITTANCE TO BE MADE BY INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDER. ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Religious Revival: I

I

ONE of the indisputable things about the war so far as Britain and France goes—and I have reason to believe that on a lesser scale things are similar in Italy—is that it has produced a very great volume of religious thought and feeling. About Russia in these matters we hear but little at the present time, but one guesses at a parallelism. People habitually religious have been stirred to new depths of reality and sincerity, and people are thinking of religion who never thought of religion before. But as I have already pointed out, thinking and feeling about a matter is of no permanent value unless something is *thought out,* unless there is a change of boundary or relationship, and it is an altogether different question to ask whether any definite change is resulting from this universal ferment. If it is not doing so, then the sleeper merely dreams a dream that he will forget again. . . .

Now in no sort of general popular mental activity is there so much froth and waste as in religious excitements. This has been the case in all periods of religious revival. The number of people who are rather impressed, who for a few days or weeks take to reading their Bibles or going to a new place of worship or praying or fasting or being kind and unselfish, is always enormous in relation to the number whose lives are permanently changed. The effort needed if a contemporary is to blow off the froth, is always very considerable.

Among the froth that I would blow off is I think most of the tremendous efforts being made in England by the Anglican church to attract favorable attention to itself apropos of the war. I came back from my visit to the Somme battlefields to find the sylvan peace of Essex invaded by a number of ladies in blue dresses adorned with large white crosses, who, regardless of the present shortage of nurses, were visiting every home in the place on some mission of invitation whose nature remained obscure. So far as I was able to elucidate this mission, it was in the nature of a magic incantation; a satisfactory end of the war was to be brought about by convergent prayer and religious assiduities. The mission was shy of dealing with me personally, although as a lapsed communicant I should have thought myself a particularly hopeful field for Anglican effort, and it came to my wife and myself merely for our permission and countenance in an appeal to our domestic assistants. My wife consulted the household; it seemed very anxious to escape from that appeal, and as I respect Christianity sufficiently to detest the identification of its services with magic processes, the mission retired—civilly repulsed. But the incident aroused an uneasy curiosity in my mind with regard to the general trend of Anglican teaching and Anglican activities at the present time. The trend of my impartial inquiries is to discover the church much more incoherent and much less religious—in any decent sense of the word—than I had supposed it to be.

Organization is the life of material and the death of mental and spiritual processes. There could be no more melancholy exemplification of this than the spectacle of the Anglican and Catholic churches at the present time, one using the tragic stresses of the war mainly for pew-rent touting, and the other paralyzed by its Austrian and South-German connections from any clear utterance upon the moral issues of the war. Through the opening phases of the war the established church of England was inconspicuous; this is no longer the case, but it may be doubted whether the change is altogether to its advantage. To me this is a very great disappointment. I have always had a very high opinion of the intellectual value of the leading divines of both the Anglican and Catholic communions. The self-styled Intelligentsia of Great Britain is all too prone to sneer at their equipment; but I do not see how any impartial person can deny that Cardinal Vaughan is in mental energy, vigor of expression, richness of thought and variety of information fully the equal even of such an influential lay publicist as Mr. Horatio Bottomley. And one might search for a long time among prominent laymen to find the equal of the Bishop of London. Nevertheless it is impossible to conceal the impression of tawdriness that this latter gentleman's work as head of the National Mission has left upon my mind. Attired in khaki he has recently been preaching in the open air to the people of London upon Tower Hill, Piccadilly, and other conspicuous places. Obsessed as I am by the humanities, and impressed as I have always been by the inferiority of material to moral facts, I would willingly have exchanged the sight of two burning Zeppelins for this spectacle of ecclesiastical fervor. But as it is I am obliged to trust to newspaper reports and the descriptions of hearers and eye-witnesses. They leave but little doubt of the regrettable levity and superficiality of the Bishop's utterances.

We have a multitude of people chastened by losses, ennobled by a common effort, needing sup-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

port in that effort, perplexed by the reality of evil and cruelty, questioning and seeking after God. On Tower Hill the Bishop seems to have been chiefly busy with a wrangling demonstration that ten thousand a year is none too big a salary for a man subject to such demands and expenses as his see involves. So far from making anything out of his see he was, he declared, two thousand a year to the bad. Some day when the church has studied efficiency, I suppose that bishops will have the leisure to learn something about the general state of opinion and education in their diocese. The Bishop of London was evidently unaware of the almost automatic response of the sharp socialists among his hearers. Their first inquiry would be to learn how he came by that mysterious extra two thousand a year with which he supplemented his stipend. How did he earn *that?* And if he didn't earn it— And secondly they would probably have pointed out to him that his standard of housing, clothing, diet and entertaining was probably a little higher than theirs. It is really no proof of virtuous poverty that a man's expenditure exceeds his income. And finally some other of his hearers were left unsatisfied by his silence with regard to the current proposal to pool all clerical stipends for the common purposes of the church. It is a reasonable proposal, and if bishops must dispute about stipends instead of preaching the kingdom of God, then they are bound to face it. The sooner they do so the more graceful will the act be. From these personal apologetics the Bishop took up the question of the exemption, at the request of the bishops, of the clergy from military service. It is one of our contrasts with French conditions—and it is all to the disadvantage of the British churches.

In his Piccadilly contribution to the National Mission of Repentance and Hope the Bishop did not talk politics but sex. He gave his hearers the sort of stuff that is handed out so freely by the cinema theatres, white-slave traffic talk, denunciations of "night hawks"—whatever "night hawks" may be—and so on. On this or another occasion the Bishop—he boasts that he himself is a healthy bachelor—lavished his eloquence upon the Fall in the Birth Rate, and the duty of all married people, from paupers upward, to have children persistently. Now sex like diet is a department of conduct and a very important department, but *it isn't religion!* The world is distressed by international disorder, by the monstrous tragedy of war; these little hot talks about indulgence and begetting have about as much to do with the vast issues that concern us as, let us say, a discussion of the wickedness of eating very new and indigestible bread. It is talking round and about the essential issue. It is fogging the essential issue, which is the forgotten and neglected kingship of God. The sin that is stirring the souls of men is the sin of this war.

2

The common clergy of France, sharing the military obligations and the food and privations of their fellow parishioners, contrast very vividly with the home-staying ministries of the various British churches. I met and talked to several. Near Frise there were some barge gun-boats—they have since taken their place in the fighting but then they were a surprise—and the men had been very anxious to have their craft visited and seen. The priest who came after our party to see if he could still arrange that, had been decorated for gallantry. Of course the English too have their gallant chaplains, but they are men of the officer caste, they are just young officers with peculiar collars; you never see them among the men, men among men, as you see the French priests.

There can be no doubt that the behavior of the French priests in this war has enormously diminished anti-clerical bitterness in France. There can be no doubt that France is far more a religious country than it was before the war. But if you ask whether that means any return to the church, any reinstatement of the church, the answer is a doubtful one. Religion and the simple priest are stronger in France to-day; the church, I think, is weaker.

I trench on no theological discussion when I record the unfavorable impression made upon all western Europe by the failure of the Holy Father to pronounce definitely upon the rights and wrongs of the war. The church has abrogated its right of moral judgment. Such at least seemed to be the opinion of the Frenchmen with whom I discussed a remarkable interview with Cardinal Gasparri that I found one morning at Amiens in *Le Journal.*

It was not the sort of interview to win the hearts of men who were ready to give their lives to set right what they believe to be the greatest outrage that has ever been inflicted upon Christendom, that is to say the forty-three years of military preparation and of diplomacy by threats that culminated in the ultimatum to Serbia, the invasion of Belgium and the murder of the Visé villagers. It was adorned with a large portrait of "Benoit XV," looking grave and discouraging over his spectacles, and the headlines insisted it was "*La Pensée du Pape.*" Crossheads sufficiently indicated the general tone. One read:

*Le Saint Siège impartial.* . . .
*Au-dessus de la bataille.* . . .

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The good Cardinal would have made a good lawyer. He had as little to say about God and the general righteousness of things as the Bishop of London. But he got in some smug reminders of the severance of diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Perhaps now France will be wiser. He pointed out that the Holy See in its Consistorial Allocution of January 22nd, 1915, invited the belligerents to observe the laws of war. Could anything more be done than that? Oh!—in the general issue of the war, if you want a judgment on the war as a whole, how is it possible for the Vatican to decide? Surely the French know that excellent principle of justice, *Audiatur et altera pars,* and how under existing circumstances can the Vatican do that? The Vatican is cut off from communication with Austria and Germany. The Vatican has been deprived of temporal power (another neat point). . . .

So France is bowed out. When peace is restored the Vatican will perhaps be able to inquire if there was a big German army in 1914, if German diplomacy was aggressive from 1875 onward, if Belgium was invaded unrighteously, if (Catholic) Austria forced the pace upon (non-Catholic) Russia. But now—now the Holy See must remain as impartial as a mascot in a shop window. . .

The next column of *Le Journal* contained an account of the Armenian massacres; the blood of the Armenian cries out past the Holy Father to heaven; but then Armenians are after all heretics, and here again the principle of *Audiatur et altera pars* comes in. Communications are not open with the Turks. . .

*Audiatur et altera pars,* and the Vatican has not forgotten the infidelity and disrespect of both France and Italy in the past. These are the things, it seems, that really matter to the Vatican.

It is the most astounding renunciation in history.

Indubitably the Christian church took a wide stride from the kingship of God when it placed a golden throne for the unbaptised Constantine in the midst of its most sacred deliberations at Nicaea. But it seems to me that this abandonment of moral judgments in the present case by the Holy See is almost a wider step from the church's allegiance to God.

H. G. WELLS.

# Assimilation

## Immigration in the Light of History: IV

A BY-PRODUCT of the present European struggle, but one of immense consequence for this country, has been the revelation or the realization "that America has not safely assimilated the vast mixture of nationalities it has attracted during the last fifty years." It was Chester Bailey Fernald who used those words in a communication to the London *Spectator* last December, and his next sentence might well have served as a text for this sermon: "In 1814 we had been a solution; in 1914 we had become to a great extent merely a mechanical mixture."

It is the shock of the European war that has seemed to separate some of the ingredients of our population mixture, and in general the most conspicuous of these are the more recent immigrants. There is nothing at all surprising in this, nor is there anything new. Our war for independence in the eighteenth century was not carried on by a whole-souled, united people. The shock of the Revolution produced far more serious divisions in public opinion than we have yet experienced. Some of the newcomers of that time found their sympathies violently enlisted on one side and some on the other. But most people who had left their own countries because of war's devastations or of compulsory military service, could not be expected to fight with any enthusiasm in a quarrel about which they didn't know enough to be interested.

Those people were as much a mechanical mixture at the time of the Revolution as our people are now, and yet Fernald rightly said that "in 1814 we had been a solution." The forces in operation which produced that change between the beginning of the Revolution and the end of the War of 1812, are the important subjects for us to study. Opinions will necessarily differ as to the significance of various factors, and the writer will only say in self-defense that the analysis here presented was originally made for historical purposes only, when the striking similarity to present-day conditions led him to institute a comparison between the two.

Before proceeding with that analysis it might be well to notice that there was one thing that the Revolutionary generation had which we have not —at least not yet, for the time has been short— and that was leaders in thought and action. It was those leaders who carried the struggle for independence through to a successful conclusion in spite of the opposition or apathy of a large part of their fellow-countrymen. The success of the war did much to unite public sentiment, partly through the silencing or forcible suppression of the opposition, but the diverse elements were not assimi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lated. The lack of a national spirit, or of a unity of public opinion, is sufficiently attested by the troubles of the Confederation and by the difficulty which was encountered in framing and adopting the Constitution.

The only solvent of the population mixture was time, and time is a notoriously slow worker. A generation and more had to pass before we became a united people. That is the fact which needs to be more widely appreciated. In a generation and a half after the outbreak of the Revolution, time was given not merely for the mixing but for the dissolving of the various ingredients. The War of 1812 revealed a people sadly divided as to the wisdom or justice of the war, but it was a difference of sections and of sectional interests rather than of racial or national strains. The divergence of sections continued after the war, and even grew greater, but we were more nearly a homogeneous people than we ever had been, and the different sections recognized and appreciated that most of their interests were in common. There was a unity of feeling, which resembled if it did not actually represent a genuine national spirit.

Various forces were at work in the process of assimilating the diverse elements, among which are usually mentioned: the improved means of transportation which made communication and travel between all sections of the country easier and consequently much more frequent; the practically unlimited amount of unoccupied land to be had for the asking or the taking; the westward movement of population, and in particular the mingling and mixing of all classes and sections and nationalities on the frontier. Undoubtedly these were all of them important, but they were probably only the forms in which a more fundamental cause was manifesting itself at that time. Study and reflection has led to the belief that the all-important factors are a steady natural increase in numbers and a people who are busy and absorbed in their work. Prosperity may be essential as a preventative of discontent, but it is hard to conceive of a people under such circumstances being anything but prosperous.

The growth of our population in the period under consideration is a matter of record—our prosperity is almost equally well recognized—and that we were a very busy people ought also to be appreciated. When Lafayette made his visit to this country in 1824 and met his fellow-soldiers of the Revolution, "What do you think," he said, "is the question which these Revolutionary soldiers, to whom I am introduced, almost invariably ask me? It is this: 'What do you do for a living?' And sometimes the inquiry comes: 'What was your father's business?' " Upon this Josiah Quincy commented: "Everybody is working for a living in America—that is, pursuing some money-getting trade or profession—and the people do not understand how it can be otherwise in the older countries."

But whatever factors may have been in operation in the work of assimilating the immigrants or alien elements, in the opinion of the writer the all-important condition which gave these forces an opportunity to accomplish results was the cessation of immigration for a time. Unfortunately we have as yet no accurate data for immigration after 1776. We know that the immigration was practically stopped by the Revolution. We have figures to show that there may have been a sharp revival with the establishment of peace. For example, the Austrian commercial agent in the United States reported about 1784 that there were ten thousand immigrants who had been obliged to indenture themselves. But this could not have lasted for long. Immigration must certainly have been checked by the French Revolution or by the Napoleonic wars that followed. The only estimates available are those which have been made in the later census reports beginning with that of 1850. These estimates are for the total immigration for the thirty years from 1790 to 1820 and amount to only 250,000. With a population of 4,000,000 in 1790 and of 9,000,000 in 1820, this would mean an annual average immigration of from 1/10 to 1/20 of 1 per cent.

With this checking of immigration, the necessary opportunity was given for the forces of assimilation to succeed in their work. In the course of a generation and a half, our people, busy and prosperous, actually absorbed all the foreign elements, so that for the first time there arose after 1815 an American people with something like a national spirit, developing many of the traits that have come to be known as American characteristics. It was this newly aroused American people that first established anything like a real democracy in this country.

In making a comparison between conditions now and those of a hundred and more years ago, it must be recognized that some of the most powerful forces operating in the earlier days have now practically ceased to exist. This is notably true of the land. The large area of unoccupied land has been used up, and though many immigrants of the newer types are succeeding as farmers, the numbers are small in comparison with what they used to be. But new factors are at work that were not in existence in the earlier period. Such, for instance, are the labor unions and the public schools. When reference has been made to this country as a melting-pot, it has more than once

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been remarked that to keep the heat up to the fusing point, a forced draught was necessary. This, with our drive and hustle, we have been able to do, so that competent foreign observers, who are in sympathy with our life and institutions, are inclined to believe that our powers of assimilation are on the whole increasing rather than diminishing.

If these things are true, the future of our immigration question ought not to be so dark provided only time and opportunity be given for the accomplishment of results. This means that immigration into this country should be sufficiently reduced to permit our assimilative powers to absorb what we already have. It would be much better for the slackening of the tide to come from natural or unconscious causes than to be forced to check it by any artificial restrictions. There is a possibility, to some it is a probability, that one result of the present European war will be to reduce the number of immigrants to America. The immediate effect has certainly been to cut off immigration almost entirely, and there can be no doubt that the demand for labor will be so great in some of the belligerent countries that if necessary governmental prohibition of emigration will be resorted to after the war.

On the other hand there are prophecies, positive and unconditional, that immigration to this country will increase exactly as it has done after almost every other European disturbance in the past. But this war outclasses all others in size and extent; it probably marks a new era; and just as it has gone beyond all forecasts and expectations, so predictions as to its aftermath must be futile. There is a possibility that the war will lessen the immigration to the United States. If not, restrictive measures are always possible. And from that point of view, the literacy test is possibly a useful measure.

As was stated at the outset, it is with no idea of solving our immigration problem that these things have been presented, or that the comparison with earlier times has been made. It is simply in the belief that some new light might be thrown upon a much vexed question and that the prospect might thereby be rendered somewhat less gloomy. With the similarity of conditions, the successful outcome a hundred years ago makes it possible to be hopeful of the ultimate result now, and to agree with Kipling, in his poem "An American," when he interprets the American Spirit as saying:

> Lo, imperturbable he rules,
> Unkempt, disreputable, vast—
> And, in the teeth of all the schools,
> I—I shall save him at the last!

MAX FARRAND.

# Zuloaga

THE pictures by Ignacio Zuloaga, exhibited at present at the Brooklyn Museum and later to be exhibited in various cities of the United States, form a brilliant ensemble. One great canvas shows us four or five vigorous young toreros, splendid in cloaks of blue and green and gold, standing on a rocky platform against a distant fenced-in bull-ring and an old surmounting castle. The picture is drenched in gorgeous hues and tense with vivid young life thrown up against a background of romantic power. Another canvas gives us a gaunt old picador mounted on the battered wreck of a gray horse splashed with blood, most probably his own, the horse and rider, painful symbols of life outlined, silhouetted against a great sun-swept plain and stormy sky. In a third picture the dark figure of Maurice Barrés leans against a rock, hawk nose in air, and looks out on a brilliant panorama of rock-borne, river-girt Toledo, of which he has so eloquently written. And then there is no end of charming Spanish women in glowing shawls and glittering laces, some portraits where the characters are sharply graven, gray landscapes of stony Spanish towns, Segovia, Sepulveda, Alquezar, and studies of the no less rugged Spanish peasants. Spain is preëminently the country of western Europe in which we feel the individual expression least adulterated by the leveling tendencies of our time, and Zuloaga is peculiarly gifted for its portrayal.

Zuloaga is a Spaniard of old Spain who spends half his time in Paris. He feels strongly his identity with his ancestral home, both with its present and its past, and at the same time he is sufficiently detached, is sufficiently a man of the modern cosmopolitan city, to realize the foreignness of his own country. He does not, like an outsider, see it only as a romantic spectacle for he knows it too well both spiritually and materially, nor on the other hand does he take it quite so naturally as Goya did. Goya drew bull-fights, Spanish people, Spanish scenes, as one might for persons to whom they were native and familiar and not exotically picturesque. When he sought picturesqueness he turned to witches' Sabbaths and strange festivals. Zuloaga has both kinds of interest for he is conscious of the bull-fighter as a man whose portrait can be painted, of the Spanish woman or peasant as the simple individual, interesting as another, and at the same time he recognizes them as peculiar, as a spectacle in which the world may well be interested as in a romantic revelation. He is therefore the ideal guide and illustrator of his marvellous native scene.

Zuloaga possesses in a high degree the talent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for picture making. Almost invariably the matter is so disposed as to give rich color patterns, vivid human presences, and dignified landscape settings. The originals of his pictures whether stuffs or people or Spanish country were intensely alive and the pictures vibrate with their living reality. The painter has sacrificed as little as possible of their actuality and he has added much by his effective composition. His feeling for dramatic character is always active, and he handles with a show of ease the very sympathetic material. In fact this dramatic quality of vision without however any dramatic action such as we have in Rubens, is his most characteristic trait and serves to justify his almost over-exuberant use of a rich palette and sensational composition.

There are among the pictures exhibited a number of portraits, of which nearly all have the merit of sharply individualizing their subjects. They are in general at their best when this individual character is strongly accented. In various attempts at subtler effects where there is reticence in expression and in color the pictures seem to halt at the threshold of their effectiveness. It is as though some robust-voiced person felt constrained to make his voice quite small and in the effort lost his power of speaking distinctly. There are several of these studies and their comparative inadequacy points clearly to the weaknesses of this distinguished artist.

The truth is that, a certain vividness of decorative color apart, Zuloaga's pictures depend for their interest chiefly on the things represented. He sees these things interestingly enough and represents them very adequately but he never gets to the point where they become independent plastic objects with some measure of self-sustaining vitality. This can only be achieved when the elements of expression, in painting the line and color, have a unity resulting from the continuity of their relations and which make them live together and grow to an individual life quite separate from the unity of the objects represented. For example: there is a picture of a bull-fighter, a splendid young fellow, richly dressed, who is vigorously and effectively painted and who strangely or one might almost say, quite naturally, gives the impression that his clothes and he might readily be separated. He might take off his blue cloak, his gold-embroidered vest, his green breeches, his pink stockings and black shoes, because there is no inevitable connection between them and him. They fit him admirably and the colors go together well enough, but that is all. Again, the ancient picador on his sorry horse against the sweeping landscape and the lowering sky is very well posed, but there is not established between the parts any relation that suggests a greater intimacy than a felicitous dramatic arrangement. And in the admirable representation of the Toledo which Maurice Barrés so eloquently dominates, the disparate details come out more and more the longer we look at it. Instead of growing more and more together the elements grow more distinctly separate. We get to know the town better, the tower-flanked bridge that leads to the gate, the scarped rock, the winding roads, the low square houses, and the massive church. It is admirably scenic, but there is no common life except the common aspects of a coherent scene.

It is in the studies of the nude that the comparative insignificance of Zuloaga's creative form is specially manifest. He has in the current exhibition two compositions with nudes and if one subtracts from them the draperies and other accessories there is nothing left that can pretend to serious value. The actual drawing and painting of the figure is no better than that of respectable academies. And it would be quite possible to verify in any of the pictures of this group the same lack of line expressive of real beauty or power, and the same want of color in which an object is vitally modeled. In a number of cases where the weakness is not disguised by the illustrative vigor of the represented object, it becomes almost painfully conspicuous.

It would perhaps be fair to say that line and color continuities in painting are like the circulating life blood of an organism that reaches all parts of it and makes the creature essentially one. Whenever we have come to feel and genuinely realize a work of art that is truly great, we carry away from it something of the sense of this, its essential, plastic organization. We might not remember a figure of Michelangelo or a Raphael fresco well enough to call to mind a visual image of it, and yet we may have the most vivid feeling of its poise and vibration. The mere flow of lines and balance of masses has infused something that persists in us.

A somewhat similar thing may happen in the case of personality. We may have known a particular person the memory of whose individual character and specific vital quality remains with us long after the bodily form is all but forgotten. We may have felt so fully the animating spirit that its record outlives the fading of the forms through which it was first communicated.

This kind of unity and significance rather than that of line and color is left to us as the ultimate residual value of Zuloaga's pictures. I remember as vivid personalities people that I saw in his canvases ten years ago, although the pictures for their intrinsic qualities, were not then and are not to-day of any interest to me. And so of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exhibition that I saw last week in Brooklyn. I can recall with pleasure the cities and the people, the beautiful costumes and the dramatic decoration, but if it were not for the interest of the objects themselves I should remember nothing of worth except a fairly well arranged decorative scheme that a hundred other people could also execute and which many commercial decorators could do much better. As a master of form, an artist pure and simple, Zuloaga is mediocre, but as an illustrator of his native land he is supreme.

LEO STEIN.

# Twenty-Nine Months of War

## I

THE advantages which Germany has hitherto held in carrying on the war are two—the advantage of interior lines or position, and the advantage of superior military organization. Of these the first has tended to increase with the progress of the war, owing to the gradual centralizing of authority in Berlin, the second to lessen, though not to the extent once expected. Yet the fact that the military executive, not only of Germany, but also of all her allies, is now virtually vested in the German chief of staff, gives Berlin a commanding position in the war not occupied by London, Paris, or Petrograd. For this reason it is only from Berlin that the progress of hostilities can be regarded as a whole, for Berlin overlooks all battlefields, past and present.

At the outbreak of the war Moltke was German chief of staff. Now the Emperor of Germany is Commander in Chief of all the military and naval forces of the Empire. The chief of staff is therefore chief of staff to the absolute war lord, and has delegated to him absolute authority. This must be noted, for Moltke's powers in the summer and autumn of 1914 were not generally understood, nor were Falkenhayn's, who succeeded Moltke. In fact it was not till Hindenburg supplanted Falkenhayn that the autocratic authority vested in the office became known. Hindenburg was under Moltke and under Falkenhayn until the midsummer of 1916, and his earlier campaigns were in a general way controlled by their orders. The Germans themselves say that the war cannot be understood until the position of German chief of staff is understood, and they are right. He is the voice of the Emperor; the Emperor is supreme. Even under Moltke there was never a war against Russia and a war against France. From the German point of view there was only one war, not two or three. After Austria's Russian and Serbian setbacks in 1914, German assistance being necessary, supreme authority over the Austrian armies, wholly extra-legal but wholly substantial, became vested in the German chief of staff, then Falkenhayn. With the opening of the way to Constantinople, Bulgaria and Turkey followed suit.

So the authority of the German chief of staff over the German armies is not only complete, but absolutely legal, while his authority over the armies of Germany's allies is only approaching completion, and is not legal. Nevertheless it may be safely said that to-day the orders given even to those lonely Turkish outposts in central Persia originate in Berlin. They are the orders of William II, Emperor of Germany, War Lord of Middle Europe and the Near East. And they are given through the medium of the Emperor's chief of staff, Marshal von Hindenburg. Germany's success against her enemies is not yet definite; her conquest of her allies is still incomplete; the eastern dream still lacks a legal basis. Yet this much must be admitted: Germany has already, from the point of view of military administration, raised the fabric of an empire which extends from the Baltic to Persia, and which is perfectly substantial. The machine works, and cannot be talked away.

## II

Such is the state of affairs to which the progress of German military administration, as much as the progress of German arms, has brought the German Empire—a state of affairs which she would like to have perpetuated by a European Peace Congress, at the price of evacuating Belgium and northern France, and perhaps Alsace-Lorraine as well.

As everybody now knows it was, on the contrary, the German plan when the war broke out to conquer France. The German general staff expected that this campaign would be conducted by the standing army, with only a minimum of reservist troops and officers. The French offensive was broken at Mühlhausen, their defense at Charleroi, and the finishing blow was to have been struck on the line between Nancy and Paris within a month from the opening of hostilities. Had this blow been successful, Russia would soon have had to acknowledge herself beaten, and Belgium, Holland and Denmark must have been forced into the German customs union. But the blow failed owing to the tactical excellence of the French troops, the steadiness of the French commanders,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

particularly Joffre, Castelnau and Foch, the difficulties which the German departments of military supplies found in keeping up with the mobile forces, and more specifically, the failure of the commander of the Saxon army group to estimate correctly his situation, in face of Foch, during the decisive engagements near La Fère Champenoise. Thus the Battle of the Marne was lost; a last attempt to retrieve the campaign was made at Ypres in October and November, 1914, an attempt which was bloodily defeated by the British. At this point Falkenhayn succeeded Moltke.

Now in Prussian military circles there have always been two factions, one looking for expansion in the west, one in the east. The western group was immensely preponderant; both Moltke and Falkenhayn belonged to it; the great Prussians in the past belonged to it. Falkenhayn's military efforts were at first directed to the east only because Austria's necessity demanded it. The campaigns of 1915 ended with the defeat of the Russian armies, the conquest of Serbia, but more important still, with the acknowledged supremacy of German arms in Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey. Austria and Bulgaria were already, at the end of 1915, in a transition stage of German military occupation.

But in the late winter of 1916 Falkenhayn, true to his colors, turned to Verdun in the west, while Austria attacked Italy. Verdun was a failure, and the Russians, rearmed and reinforced, fell upon Austria's eastern armies and seriously defeated them. Moreover Austria's reserves were even then depleted, and the call again came for German troops. With the opening of the Franco-British attack on the Somme, Hindenburg succeeded Falkenhayn, and the attack on Verdun was abandoned. Such German reserves as were not needed on the Somme went to the aid of Austria against Russia and Rumania, and to the aid of Bulgaria against Rumania and Sarrail. The situation which has thus slowly developed is this: Bulgaria and Austria have virtually been conquered by German troops. It was a situation of no man's choosing, but it demands a German chief of staff of the eastern faction, and Hindenburg is that man. For while the technical and tactical prestige of the German military machine has lessened in the west, where since the fall of Antwerp it has accomplished nothing positive, in the east a regiment of German infantry is looked upon as no troops have been looked upon since the Roman legion.

The truth is that the superiority of the German military machine over that of the French was never marked. There never was much about the practical conduct of war which the French did not know, and nothing which they were incapable of learning. They are, and always have been, one of the foremost military nations of Europe. They made mistakes at first, chiefly out of pride in their preconceived technical ideas. They trusted too much in their wonderful seventy-fives; and heavy artillery is not to be improvised. But to-day it is safe to say that the French possess a military machine which works more smoothly than the German, and which has been proved at least slightly superior, unit for unit, at Verdun and on the Somme. In the excellence of their auxiliary arms, and in the coördination of all arms, the French are above praise. In everything except numbers they are more than equal to the Germans to-day.

Unfortunately for the British this cannot be said also of them. An offensive as conducted on the west front means the operation of a number of highly complicated technical machines, all of which cannot work in unison. That the time necessary for training the various necessary units has been grossly underestimated no longer admits of any doubt. The tactical value of the British organization is not yet equal to that of the French, as their combined efforts on the Somme have proved, nor to the German. The history of the war on the west front from the first battle of Ypres to the present day reads less like a history of war than a scientific treatise. Nevertheless it is a combat of genius between whole nations, whose outcome must remain doubtful till the end. And it is fair to say, since the western German faction quit at Verdun, that the best Berlin is hoping for here is a draw.

But in the east there is another tale to tell. Hindenburg's strategy in the first Warsaw campaign was only saved by the tactical superiority of the German military machine. Hindenburg's reputation rests chiefly on his two battles in East Prussia. The victories over Russia were won by German troops more than by German generals. Up to the present time the Germans have never lost, nor the Austrians won, a campaign against Russia. The Austrians understand; in their extremity they demanded not German strategists, but German infantry and artillery. When against Brussilov in the spring of 1916, the Austrian armies of Pflanzer-Baltin were wholly obliterated in the Bukowina, Leopold's Germans at Baranovitchi did not give way an inch; and from the north to the south the lines were held with a firmness proportionate to the number of German troops engaged. The war in the east has remained, tactically speaking, at a standstill. The Russians appear to be no nearer a technical equality with the Germans to-day than they were when the war began—nor the Austrians with the Russians.

Thus it is a condition and not a theory which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

faces Germany. Unable to advance in the west, she finds herself, at the end of 1916, in actual military occupation of Austria-Hungary and most of the Balkan Peninsula. The question for Hindenburg, therefore, is how so to use his tactical superiority as to make lasting a state of affairs, as fortunate as it was unplanned, which was originally not only not of Germany's choice but against her choice, and which dates from the days when Germans openly said that Austria was less of a help than a hindrance. For an unexpected German empire has come into being, not a willing hegemony but a de facto military autocracy, which can be made the foundation of a supremacy in Central Europe, Asia Minor and Persia brilliant beyond parallel in European history. It is the business of Hindenburg so to use the tactical superiority of the German military machine (over enemies and allies alike) on the various eastern fronts, as to force a conclusion of the war on the basis of that supremacy.

Now it has become a truism in this war that troops used defensively and properly entrenched can stand their ground against an enemy of superior tactical value (granted, of course, a satisfactory morale) although if used offensively, or in the open, these same troops be almost helpless. The British at Ypres, the Russians in front of Warsaw, stood off for weeks the best that Germany could bring against them. But these same British not long afterwards, at Neuve Chapelle, showed that they did not comprehend offensive problems at all; while the Russians were as children in German hands wherever there was a campaign of movement.

In the open fighting of the future Hindenburg is almost certain to defeat Russia, if not England. He can, if he chooses, first smash Cadorna and Sarrail, but such victories would in their very nature be indecisive. It is well known that Hindenburg and his faction believe that in the Riga campaign of 1915 they were near to dealing Russia her vital blow, and that Hindenburg's encircling movement at Vilna failed because Falkenhayn preferred to send the German reinforcements elsewhere. To win the war outright in the east, however, Russian resistance must be broken by the destruction of her armies. A separate peace with Russia is no part of the program of Hindenburg and the German eastern faction. The Russian armies are to be crushed by German tactical and technical superiority, and the terms of peace those of the victor to the vanquished. Unless forcibly imposed, those terms would not be acceptable even to the Black Hundreds of Petrograd. The Russian reactionaries desire neither victory nor defeat in this war. In victory they see the triumph of the democratic ideas of the west, in defeat the threat of a certain revolution in Russia. True standpatters, they want nothing changed; they are dangerous to Russia only when she is winning. Hindenburg's victories, therefore, must be not diplomatic, but decisive military victories. In order to achieve the objects of the German eastern faction he must break Russia's military resistance. Whether or not this is possible remains the great question of 1917.

GERALD MORGAN.

# American "Society"

II

OF the gynocratic caste we call American "Society" we are apt to speak as if it were a stable feature of American life—unstable in its group composition, yes, but of an enduring framework. It is of the nature of caste to appear enduring. And yet, despite appearance, together with other bits of an archaic social system the American society life is being scrapped—scrapped by women for themselves just as long since men began to scrap it for themselves.

In a growing democracy it becomes more and more difficult to make yourself count through keeping others from counting, to work the principle of exclusiveness. In this country exclusiveness based on family lingers on only in isolated New England or Pennsylvania or southern communities, in certain Boston or Philadelphia or Baltimore circles. Exclusiveness based on wealth or rather on its expenditure, remains a more workable principle. And yet given such opportunities for acquiring wealth as we possess and no sumptuary laws on expending it, caste exclusiveness through consumption is but a flimsy principle. The would-be exclusive economic caste becomes inevitably a mere economic class whose boundaries are too readily crossed to be thought of as boundaries at all. Nor is it any easier for our gynocratic caste to keep to itself non-economic distinctions in language, in bearing, in dressing, in ways of living in general; American habits of imitation make such caste distinctions short-lived. A caste which fails to exclude and which can not keep to itself any cultural monopoly is certainly in danger of its life.

Imitation and economic elasticity—these are the enemies of our gynocratic caste from without. Within its organization are other perils. It faces a shortage of leaders. Increasing outlets for feminine energy and ambition operate upon our gynocratic caste as increasing social opportunities for the will to power among men have been seen to operate from time to time on politics or upon the church or upon the army. Other jobs prove more attractive. Moreover once a leisure-class woman has become a producer or inventor, consumption ceases to be her supreme concern. Spending becomes simplified because its elaboration is too great a drain on her energy and attention. Moreover, spending no longer appears to her as a kind of maker of values, the curious pseudo-production it appears to the "born shopper." Her sense of achievement through proprietorship is lessened. Nor does a woman interested in her work prize the kind of prestige elaborate consumption brings her. She does not care to make that particular appeal to women nor does she like the relationship to men

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it involves. She is likely to want something more in a man than a backer or a retainer. She wants a companion. She soon finds that there are no "interesting" men in "Society," as we say, or that if they are met there from time to time for fortuitous reasons the "society" background is not favorable to acquaintance. If she has once belonged to the caste she does not of course deliberately cut loose from it. Somewhat like an irresponsible man she drifts in and out of it, naturally from a caste point of view a demoralizing factor. Demoralizing, disintegrating or not, at least to the organization of the society life she contributes nothing. Her talents are lost to it. Above a certain economic class level every thoroughly converted feminist is to the extent of her vitality a loss in vitality to the gynocratic caste.

If the feminist bent is taken in youth the circumstance may not only deprive the gynocratic caste of a potential leader, it tends to depress its value as a marriage market. Not only is the girl not prepared at a finishing school to take her proper place in society, in another type of school or in college she begins to acquire the seeds of revolution against the gynocracy in so far as it is a gerontocracy, a control by the elders, and particularly a control of her through her sex or her sex relations. She begins to make up her mind to mate to please herself, not to please her seniors. Among the many ways this decision is disintegrating to the rule of the elders is its effect upon the desire of the young to go into society. It means that girls will not feel so "crazy about society" because there only can they meet men—such as they are. Youthful feminists like older feminists want to meet all kinds of men, not only the men admitted into society by their mothers, but the men who never think of applying for admittance. These men girls will meet in their work and in their social intercourse at large. As for those young men who go into society but who go only from time to time and reluctantly at that, they will go still more sporadically when the bait that attracts them, the girls they cannot meet anywhere else, is withdrawn. And so the circle revolves. The fewer the young men in society, the less attracted are the girls, even the old-fashioned girls. The more aberrant the girls, the more unwilling the men to "go out." Given a few more such revolvings and "Society" as a place for making marriages will be quite neglected, the last vestige of marriage by service, so to speak, subservience to the fashionable dowager having disappeared. This escape from "Society's" match-making machinery is, I need hardly say, part of that general escape of the young from the old which is the most important, if but little noticed, social fact of our times.

The gynocratic caste suffers in its human composition from the revolution of youth and from the social development in general of women. It suffers in its institutional framework from another development peculiar to modern culture. I refer to the modern change of attitude towards what we may call life's crises. In early societies changes in life are met with ceremonials—with maternity, birth, adolescence, mating and death rites. In modern life this crisis ceremonialism is passing, much of it has passed. Upon it the gynocratic caste has depended for part of its significance, i.e., it has put these ancient social ceremonies to its credit. Coming-out parties are "society events," weddings are described as "fashionable," funerals as "representative." During the last few years, however, débutante entertainments have been considered rather ridiculous affairs, and fashionable weddings, a little vulgar. Funeral rings and scarfs and gloves are no longer presented to the mourners, mourners are even asked not to send flowers. It will not be long before a wedding breakfast will be as bourgeois as throwing rice in a railway station or as a funeral feast, and standing up all afternoon with a "bud" as antiquated as sitting up all night with a corpse. In other words the occasions upon which the gynocratic caste can make both a public justification of its existence and attract attention to itself, these occasions are diminishing.

Within the caste itself too there is rebellion now and again or pseudo rebellion against self-manifestations. "Functions" are derided by the fashionable. To be seen at a "tea" is an *affichement* that you are not to be seen anywhere else. To be asked to women's lunch parties, the most characteristic form of entertainment American "Society" has produced, has come to mean in certain circles that you are not asked to dinner parties. A really smart woman not only never leaves dinner cards, only as an act of condescension does she go to a "real dinner party." As for seeing her name in the society columns of a newspaper or her picture in the Sunday supplement she greatly resents such newspaper impertinence. It is a blow to her social prestige, she feels, to be made so common. A social leader cannot afford to be inspected at the option of others. This attitude of safeguarding prestige through safeguarding privacy, through objecting to newspaper notoriety, may be expected to spread. Like other fashionable attitudes it will be imitated. Then the wretched society reporter will not only feel himself more of a detective than ever, but more of a fakir. His accounts of the outermost circles of society, of its fringes, of life for example at fashionable hotels, will be less and less heeded and more and more curtailed until one day the society column will find itself among the historic curiosities of journalism.

Without boundaries, without leaders, without matrimonial baits, without means of accrediting or advertising itself through crisis ceremonials or through newspaper notoriety what hope of a future existence is there, we may well ask, for the gynocratic caste?

But surely along one line at least there lies hope or vitality for the society life, the conservative may urge. However undemocratic and anti-feminist it may be, however unworthily it gratifies the will to power of idle women and irretrievable snobs, however neglectful it is of other primary desires, does it not meet after all one of the most urgent of human impulses, the gregarious impulse, the desire for company? The society life does satisfy the desire for mere company—among women. Perhaps men have less of this desire, perhaps they care more for the companionship which is more than mere company. But even women's desire for company the society life satisfies only in a timid, half-hearted way. A degree of segregation, as we have noted, the privacy of exclusiveness, is so necessary to a prestigeful position. Besides as women acquire other forms of human association, association with fellow workers, with professional colleagues, with *bona fide* playmates, the various forms of association men have, women too will be bored, much as men are, by those less personal ways of being together characteristic of the society life. Small sets of men and women with common interests and sympathies will form spontaneously to work and play together—a grouping that occurs already in Europe and appears to be on the eve of occurring in New York. There it may be said to await only the disposal of what for lack of a less flippant term we must call the tagger-on spouse problem, a problem that humorously enough even

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the gynocratic caste cannot keep from trying to solve although solution will contribute so importantly to its own undoing.

But outside of "sets," of intimate groups of fellow-workers and playmates, salt of life as they are to many, is there no need of other forms of social intercourse, of more general meeting places, of opportunities for the chance encounter? Certainly there is, and here at length is a definite and concrete opportunity for the constructive humanist. All kinds of general meeting places are in order—for all kinds of persons—city and country club-houses, gardens, parks, beaches, boat-houses, skating-rinks, outdoor and indoor dancing floors, lobbies in concert-hall and playhouse—in short the very meeting places that are springing up everywhere under our eyes. These places are increasing rapidly. They will increase more rapidly and they will gain distinction once the need of them begins to appeal to the imagination of the social artist, of the lover of pleasant backgrounds and quiet outlooks. Even to-day places of assembly are becoming more decent and more beautiful in form, although they are dominated as yet both by commercialism and by the old spirit of group exclusiveness and of group apprehensiveness. A new democratization, a new fearlessness and a new freedom will pervade them in time, however, and then they will properly fulfil their social functions alike for the adventurous individual who seeks in them a setting for the chance encounter, and for the gregarious lover of his kind to whom the sense of the herd is comforting.

ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS.

# *CORRESPONDENCE*

## Fox on a Secure Peace

SIR: The scorn with which the more chauvinistic of British journalists and politicians are flouting the German proposal to discuss peace lends new point and interest to one of the best chapters in the recent volume called "Towards a Lasting Settlement." In the chapter referred to, Miss Irene Cooper Willis draws a telling parallel between the present conflict and the great French war, when England was allied with Prussia in the defense of European civilization against France (as a half century or so later she was allied with Turkey in the defense of European civilization against Russia). "We are in a war of a peculiar nature. . . . It is with an *armed doctrine* that we are at war. . . . This new system . . . in France cannot be rendered safe by any art . . . it must be destroyed or it will destroy all Europe." So wrote Burke in 1796; and so, with the change of a single word, writes and speaks official Britain to-day. In vain Fox urged, as many sane Englishmen are to-day urging, that "a war to exterminate principles will mean a war to all eternity. . . . Impotent are the men who think opinions can be so encountered." French offers of peace in the early stages of conflict were uniformly rejected as not providing, in Mr. Bonar Law's phrase, "indemnity for the past and security for the future."

But as the years of bloody and indecisive struggle went on the popular longing for peace became too manifest to be any longer officially ignored. Then it was that Burke, fanning the ashes of his once-splendid intellect to a last fiery flame of hatred against France, published his "Letters on a Regicide Peace" in 1796. "What, you would treat with regicides and assassins!" he cried. "Assuredly we should treat with them," replied Fox. "If we treat with France only when she has a government of which we approve, good God! we shall fight eternally." "The question was not what degree of abhorrence ought to be felt of French cruelty, but what line of conduct ought to be pursued consistent with British policy, which had hitherto accepted the theory that every independent nation had a right to regulate its own government." Was it to be henceforth a British maxim that you should "make peace with no man of whose good conduct you are not satisfied, but make an alliance with any man no matter how profligate or faithless he may be"? "Hatred of vice is no just cause of war between nations. If it were, good God! with which of those Powers with whom we are now combined should we be at peace? Security? Are we never to have peace because that peace may be insecure? A state of peace immediately after a war of such violence must in some respect be a state of insecurity. We must be satisfied with the best security we can get: it will, at any rate, be not less secure than a state of war. To go on fighting as a speculation, that perchance we may gain a better peace some time hence—what can this do but add to the sum of human horrors?" These words of one of the greatest of English statesmen are as pertinent to-day as when they were first spoken, one hundred and twenty years ago.

WALDO R. BROWNE.

Wyoming, New York.

## Defending Divorce Lawyers

SIR: I have read with interest the article in your issue of December 2nd, entitled "The Middleman in Divorce," and I agree with the authors of the article that the case of Anton and his wife, in common with other cases of the same character, represent great social waste.

However, it is not fair to the profession nor in accord with the facts to let the inference be so readily drawn from the article referred to, that lawyers are the chief or one of the chief causes of the divorce evil. Thirty per cent of the divorce cases filed in Cleveland in the last three years were dismissed, usually by the voluntary act of the parties. From this statement one would conclude that the lawyers of Cleveland were not only not obstructing reconciliations, but were very busy indeed effecting them. The conclusion is just as logical that the reconciliations were effected by the lawyers in spite of the efforts of the clients to "get" divorces, as the contrary conclusion expressed in the article.

We all agree that divorces are all too frequent and all too easy to obtain, but experience will teach that while the wise lawyer does endeavor to bring about an adjustment of differences before filing suit his success is bound to be quite limited. He can often effect a settlement better as the final climax of trial approaches than he can before.

The divorce question is one which has its roots deeper down in our social system than the courts. If we want to curb divorces and all the undesirable consequences we must look deeper than the litigation affecting them. I do not mean that the methods of handling these cases through the courts need no change—on the contrary changes are needed—but any change will not affect materially the causes or frequency of divorce complaints.

ALANSON A. HULL.

Chehalis, Washington.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# After the Play

IT would be interesting to discover why Miss Rachel Crothers, who is a sensitive and knowing dramatist, decided to stoop to conquer. In spite of her stoop "Old Lady 31" is decidedly to be seen. From the point of view of a producer it is even quite courageous, but it makes concessions which, granting how intelligent Miss Crothers is, provoke a morbid curiosity.

Any one who has ever talked to a theatrical producer may imagine how "Old Lady 31" first hit that professional mind. Twelve old women on the stage for three acts, old women in the decrepitude of an old ladies' home. You can imagine this thought impinging on a Broadway mind. Nothing but old women—old women with their hair in nets, old women with high shell-combs, old women with shawls, old women with mittens, old women with caps—frumpy, toothless, deaf, quavering, senescent old things listening for the soundless footsteps of death. You may guess how this might strike a producer. Miss Crothers is an artist, with a strong sense of character. She could see it. But a producer! What do you see in the crystal, my dear? I see $42 in the house and ten old women on the stage. What do you see now, my dear? I seem to see twelve old women on the stage, and $18.75 in the house.

To produce "Old Lady 31" for Broadway was not considered possible until it was heavily "sugared up." After the fashion of sunshine biscuits and sunlight soap and sun-kist oranges, it was termed a "sunshine comedy," to begin with. That was undoubtedly supposed to remit some of the perils of asking Broadway to contemplate old age. It meant, in the sight of poverty and loneliness, that assurance of optimism which Broadway is supposed to crave. But the advertisement of optimism was not enough, the written bunkum of "wholesomeness" and sunshine. It had to be squirted into the play. And, in the prologue and also at the end, the syringe of sweetening was used.

The old couple Angie and Abe are leaving their sun-kist cottage—Angie to go to the old ladies' home, Abe to go to the poor farm. They have been married many, many years, but there are no children. "'Twan't to be." This is a real situation, one in which there is a great length of human retrospect, a definite pathos, a chance to reveal human nature and make the most of the drama to come. Well, Belasco couldn't have done a fouller deed. There was much excuse for the old lady's inevitable allusion to a lifetime of marriage without a single misunderstanding or a cross word. The couple next me held hands at this touching misrepresentation of intersexual experience, but I noticed he went out to smoke at the end of the first act and left her to boredom, just as usual. The rest of the prologue was a desperate effort to establish Angie's angelic character. She scrimped a little tobacco every day so that Abe might have a last smoke. "You beat all, mother." She regrets the poor auction at the end of their lifetime but rejoices that her old tea-strainer brought three cents more than it cost. Think of it, the good Lord letting fall that crumb of consolation. "Ain't the pansies sweet to-day? I'm out here talking things over with the pansies." Then a little sunshine philosophy. "That's what the pansies understand."

Few people know What Every Pansy Knows, of course, but is there anything more pestiferous in real life than these cooing human beings? Angie is to be the sweetest of old ladies. When she refers to her "bridal wreath" and blows a kiss to her old house, when she gives Abe a flower to press in his bible or plucks a bouquet for Abigail, she is to be the dearest old thing. It is a matter of scientific record, however, that mature women who live in the past to such degree as this, who hold conversation with the pansies at sixty and rejoice over a three-cent episode at an auction sale, are merely half-witted. If they had had less sentimentalism and more sense, there would have been absolutely no necessity for an auction. No sea-captain could have survived to old age with such a spouse. While he was at sea he might have gotten away with it. That is one of the attractions of life on the ocean wave. But if he had lived "to hum," as Miss Emma Dunn and Mr. Reginald Barlow so exultingly pronounced it, he would certainly have arisen one night while Angie slept, and tenderly extinguished her forever under the tea-cosy, and then strode forth to take the good news to the sheriff.

So far "Old Lady 31" is sheer conformity to the professional idea of what Broadway wants. The minute we get to the old ladies' home, however, and have Miss Crothers reveal the human nature of the women in that home, there is that precious veracity which is bound to dominate a comedy audience. Louise Forssund's book may have given Miss Crothers many pointers, but it is she alone who made possible for the stage the reality of these superannuated types. The conventions of the stage required performers who were not actually as much "old ladies" as the title suggests. But this hardly interfered with one's sense of reality. One beheld, first, a rattlepate, spitfire, "gabby" person rocking violently on the veranda, in conversation with an imposing and funereal doctor's widow, joined in a few minutes by a saturnine practical person, a Martha in a universe of Marys, a "grouch." Nothing could have been more humorous than this idiomatic talk on the veranda. It was soon enhanced by the addition of a coy, gurgling creature with Victorian curls. The kindliness with which these "inmates" were observed in all their foibles and sensitiveness and pettiness and magnanimity was not at all like the sentimentalism of the prologue. It had an artist's sagacity and penetration, and took the whole performance out of theatricality and back to the immense divertiveness of the world we know.

The pathos of the play is the separation of old Abe from Angie, at the door of the old ladies' home. Its inventiveness is shown in the successful revolutionary proposal to have a place made for Abe in the home, as "Old Lady 31." Had Miss Crothers gone into the business of projecting this story without knowing and respecting her human material, it would have been a thin entertainment. But she had such a strong grasp of the characters she proposed to deal with that the new factor of a man in their communal life gave her just the chance she needed to exhibit their amusingness. Every kind of femininity comes out in the galvanizing presence of Abe, and every kind of masculinity is produced in Abe, and in the misogynistic Mike, by the presence of so many concentrating women. In all this part of "Old Lady 31," the core of its drama, there are the qualities which make Miss Crothers a genuine contributor to American drama and America's capture of its own life. Aided by an admirable cast of women, and by a remarkable costume designer in A. Deutsch, a drama has been honestly placed in one of those neglected yet ramified areas of possibility which an integral group always provides, and not only has it been placed there with regard to its plausible occurrence but with regard to the fine interest of the group itself. By reason of her ability to appreciate such a group, to see its powerful interest regardless of the supposed needs of Broadway, Miss Crothers really equips herself extraordinarily to write gen-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

uine drama. And that one enjoys about "Old Lady 31." But my enjoyment is marred by the stupid conventionality of the ending—Abe's windfall—and by the sunshine so assiduously poured in and about the character of Angie. Miss Crothers has integrity as a creator. It is worth fighting for, against Broadway and hell combined, and she has apparently not managed to plan for her integrity or to risk profit for it as much as she should.

F. H.

# An International Program

*International Government, by L. S. Woolf. With an introduction by Bernard Shaw. New York: Brentano's. $2.00.*

THE problem of world peace is the problem of international organization. Admitting this basic truth, we have been wont to think of it in utter hopelessness because of our belief there is an unavoidable dilemma. We have become convinced that the alternatives are "Utopia or Hell," and that one is as impracticable as the other is undesirable. There has been no dearth of vague aspirations; but it required the shock of war to awaken us to the imperative necessity of a practical program.

The Fabian Society was among the first to respond to the new impulse. The question of international organization was referred to its research department; a timely donation provided the necessary endowment; and an investigator was secured in Mr. L. S. Woolf to make a study of what has actually been accomplished in the way of international government. The report was thoroughly discussed in the research department, and then offered for general public discussion as a supplement to *The New Statesman*. Later on it was submitted to a summer conference including a number of non-Fabian experts, among them a group that had been working independently on the subject under Lord Bryce. It is now published as being as good as the Fabian Society can make it at the present time. It is not too much to say that it not only refutes the unavoidable dilemma, but contains the most practicable and constructive suggestions for organization yet offered to a distracted world.

It has been a fatal defect in most projects for international government that they have disregarded the experience of history. They have assumed that there could be no half-way house on the road to Utopia. We have had a great variety of utopian schemes for world federation, but few serious attempts really to find out how far we have already progressed toward international government. The opinion has been too widely held that we have not progressed at all. Mr. Woolf and the Fabians approach the problem from a different angle. They start with the premise that we already possess a rudimentary international authority, not the perverse invention of cranks, but the result of a spontaneous growth to meet international needs. They entertain no illusions as to what international government of the future is to be. Instead of Utopia they see that it must be "a duller and heavier structure placed logically upon the foundations of the existing system."

If the vague protoplasmic authority already developed is to become an effective agency of international government it must offer a rational alternative for war as a method of settling international disputes. International disputes are of two kinds: they are either justiciable or non-justiciable. They are justiciable if they can be reduced to an issue of fact or of law and determined by judicial proceedings.

TIFFANY & CO.

PEARLS
OF VARIOUS SIZES

FIFTH AVENUE AND 37TH STREET
NEW YORK

They are non-justiciable if they involve issues of policy or controversies as to what the law ought to be. The Fabians are right in repudiating the traditional notion that the importance of certain disputes affecting honor or vital interests makes them non-justiciable. It is well known to students of international relations that this is no test of justiciability. Judicial settlement of such issues has frequently been accepted where a suitable procedure existed and the question could go to the tribunal as an issue of fact or law. The Fabian project undertakes to define justiciable issues and to make their reference to judicial settlement obligatory, while leaving the greatest possible freedom in the matter of choosing a tribunal. An international High Court is to be created with power to enforce its decrees by ordering non-intercourse or joint coercive action, but the importance of the central tribunal is not exaggerated. The purpose is to provide a court of easy access before which disputes must be brought if the parties cannot agree upon another tribunal. "The art of administering and interpreting international law," says Mr. Woolf, "has only just been born, and we know so little about it that by trying to confine it to rigid lines we may easily kill it in infancy."

Some of the most important international controversies are essentially non-justiciable and require a legislative procedure for their adjustment. We already possess, in the machinery of international conferences, a rudimentary legislature that has shown remarkable efficacy in preventing war. We have also a large body of international legislation secured through conferences, public international unions, associations for securing uniform law, and other agencies. The immediate problem is to develop existing machinery

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

into a more effective agency for expressing the legislative decision of the Powers. The Fabians propose a permanent International Council to include a council of the eight great Powers, a council for the states other than the eight great Powers, a council for Europe, a council for America, and a council of all the Powers. Equality of voting is suggested for the two councils first mentioned and a scale of voting strength for the other three. The International Council is to legislate subject to ratification by the constituent states. It is proposed that the Powers agree to submit all non-justiciable controversies to the Council, and that the Council's resolution be accepted as binding if passed unanimously, or if passed by three-fourths majority, provided that it does not affect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, or internal law of the states concerned.

The proposed league to enforce peace is to be cemented by two solemn covenants. Each constituent state is to agree never to press any claim or complaint against another constituent state beyond the stage of "courteous representation" without first submitting it either to the International High Court or to the International Council, and never to resort to ultimatums, threats of aggression, mobilization, or war, except to repel attack, until the controversy has been submitted either to the High Court or the Council, and until the expiration of one year after submission.

The Fabians are wise in not making the adoption of their project dependent upon the adhesion of every independent sovereign state. There are other suggestions in the volume that will be refreshing to those who are interested in a practical program rather than nebulous speculation. General obligatory arbitration treaties are dismissed as useless and dangerous; disarmament is not advocated; a permanent international police force is described as impractical; and it is frankly admitted that it is impossible to make war impossible.

The Fabians have dealt with the conceptions of sovereignty, independence, and equality in admirable fashion. They have recognized their importance, appreciated their utility, and made an honest effort to indicate the way for their future development. They do deny that these conceptions are incompatible with a highly developed international government, and they are certainly right in this unless we are committed to the absolute notions of the ultra-legalistic philosophy. Of these extreme notions it may be remarked that they represent the shallowest of fictions and are derived almost entirely from conceptions of the state and of international society than which nothing could be more *a priori* or impractical. In rejecting the doctrine of equality in its extreme form the Fabians merely show common sense. No high court or council could possibly be constituted on such a principle. Mr. Woolf might have strengthened the Fabian position by pointing out that the extreme idea of state equality has been a doctrine of *le droit des gens théorique* and never of *le droit des gens réel,* that it was created entirely by the publicists from theoretical notions of natural law, natural equality, and the state of nature, and that its application to voting power in courts or conferences is the result of a failure to understand its true significance.

The volume is comparatively free from errors of statement, and in general is well planned. There is one obvious defect, however, that cannot be overlooked. The select bibliography is inexcusable; it is neither select nor a bibliography. In the next reprint it should either be made what it purports to be or omitted.

In both the reports and the project the Fabian Society has made a remarkable contribution to the literature of constructive internationalism. It is a contribution that ought to be commended to the League to Enforce Peace, and to all those statesmen of vision who hope for new international relationships after this war. It will be welcomed by everyone who believes in the possibility of something better than George Canning's "wholesome state" of international relations, described as "every nation for itself, and God for us all."

EDWIN D. DICKINSON.

# The Poetry of Robert Frost

*Mountain Interval, by Robert Frost. New York: Henry Holt & Co. $1.25.*

THE poetry of American local life, after having been hinted at for long, made a significant appearance last year not from one, but from two quarters—from the Illinois of Edgar Lee Masters and the New England of Robert Frost. The New England book had less of a shudder, and it shows a readiness of response on the part of the public here that, with the grave and, as one might say, featureless poems in it, it had a success equal to "The Spoon River Anthology," in which, besides the poetic and dramatic appeal, there was the interest of exciting fiction. To go from "The Spoon River Anthology" to "North of Boston" is to go from the court-house into the fields. The fields are usual, and, as we have been in an unusual place, we are not at first impressed. Then we perceive that the fields, the apple-trees, the bounding hill, the frame-house have each a character of their own. We notice that the people—a few of them at all events—have the inaccessible life that Burns's and Wordsworth's people have. Such a life belongs to the woman in "A Servant to Servants." Such a life, too, belongs to the man in "The Self-seeker."

Unlike Mr. Masters, Mr. Frost seems to have no notion of satire or of social judgment. This is a terrible background to "A Servant to Servants." A bride has been brought into a house where her husband's mad brother lives as in a den and delights himself by yelling out filthy things in the night. Mr. Masters would have left a social judgment to be inscribed on a tombstone. But Mr. Frost's spirit goes into the current of a life that still moves on. And as that life expresses itself we feel only sympathy with a soul that does not judge and which is beyond our judgments. In "The Self-seeker" we come to know a student and a lover of wild flowers. His legs have been crushed in a mill, and he can never again search out the flowers he loves so well. He takes five hundred dollars' compensation. There is no satire here. Mr. Frost lets us see the reachings and the reserves of a soul, and he lets us know besides the forms and the hiding places of the wild flowers.

Though there were few people in "North of Boston" and though these people knew of few events, still the book gave the sense of a community. And the brooding of the poet gave life to the inanimate things around. We were made remember the unlived-in Black Cottage and the wood-pile that warms "the frozen swamp as best it could with the slow, smokeless burning of decay"—we were made remember the wall that has some undiscovered enemy; the mountain that crushes the life of the village; the thousands and tens of thousands of gathered apples. In "North of Boston" Mr. Frost's real achievement was not, perhaps, the creation of men and women, but in the hint

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The CENTURY Offers The Reconstruction of Europe

## An Important Series of Articles by

HERBERT ADAMS GIBBONS
Author of "The New Map of Europe," etc.

Dr. Gibbons does not speculate or prophesy, but upon wide and authoritative information he brings to bear that wisdom which is the secret of prophecy. Each article takes up a specific case which illustrates one of the general broader problems of reconstruction. The scheme of articles is as follows:

1. Great Britain in the Sudan
(The problem of European colonization and European rivalry in Africa.)

2. What Confronts France
(The problem of social and economic rehabilitation.)

3. Italy in the Adriatic
(The problems of the peninsular power, irredentism and international alliances.)

4. The Balance of Power in the Balkans
(The whole Balkan tangle and the problem of Constantinople.)

5. The Arabian Khalifate
(The problem of Islam in the New Era, of Egypt and Turkey.)

Whether America takes part in the settlement or not, we shall be involved in it; and the more complete our understanding of it, the better for us and our country. There is no surer way of grasping these problems than by subscribing to THE CENTURY and following Mr. Gibbons's articles.

## A Special Offer to You

To give you an opportunity to read these remarkable articles by Dr. Gibbons and to become acquainted with the CENTURY, we make you a Special Introductory Offer of a FOUR months subscription for only $1.00. This offer is limited to the readers of NEW REPUBLIC and must be taken advantage of immediately. Kindly use the coupon when forwarding your remittance.

THE CENTURY 353 Fourth Ave. NEW YORK

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

THE CENTURY CO.
353 Fourth Ave., New York

I enclose $1.00. Please send the next 4 issues of The Century containing Dr. Gibbons's articles.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

*An Advertisement by*
THE PULLMAN COMPANY

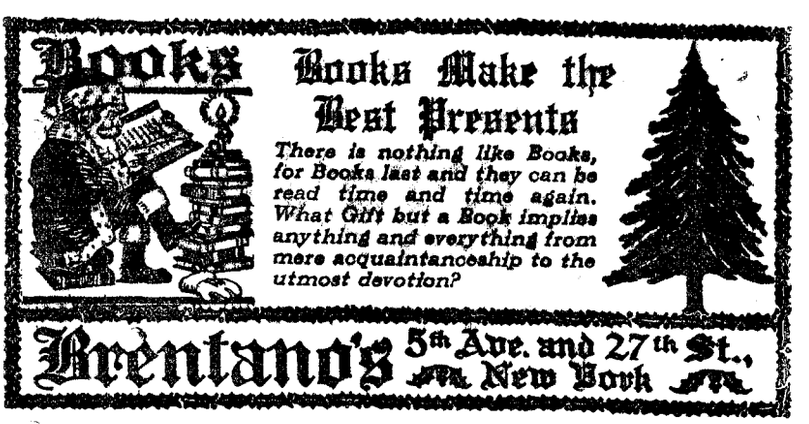
***Anticipation*** of those details of personal service, or equipment, which may add to the passengers' comfort, convenience or safety, is a responsibility which the Pullman Company for fifty years, has consistently fulfilled.

In order that no improvement might be neglected, every practical suggestion is actually incorporated in a car under construction in our shops, and once a month these suggested improvements are personally inspected by the Committee on Standards composed of the higher officials of the Company.

The development of the sleeping car, the parlor car and the enclosed vestibule are characteristic steps in the constant advance made by the Pullman Company in the perfection of its equipment. To this end every new invention practical for Pullman car construction is carefully considered, and, if contributing to safety or convenience is adapted to car requirements.

Many of these improvements are of a highly technical nature and contribute chiefly to safety. Others result primarily in added comfort, or convenience to passengers. All serve to anticipate the passengers' requirements and meet the most exacting demands of the traveling public.




Books
Books Make the Best Presents
There is nothing like Books, for Books last and they can be read time and time again. What Gift but a Book implies anything and everything from mere acquaintanceship to the utmost devotion?
Brentano's 5th Ave. and 27th St., New York


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The Best Club in America

## AND, THEREFORE, IN THE WORLD

YOU join a club first because you meet your friends there and secondly because your fellow members have a certain standing as men of affairs, artists, statesmen, wits. You want to see people you know and also people who are known. You expect entertainment and good conversation as well as the more material comforts. And you willingly pay a big initiation fee and large dues in order to belong to such a club. For no initiation fee at all and only five dollars yearly dues you can instantly join the best of all clubs in the country. It is a club where you are sure to find many of your friends; you will also meet from time to time all the most amusing people in America, all those who are distinguished for gifts of any kind whether social, political, artistic or athletic. It is a club where all the men are brilliant and all the women beautiful. Above all it is a club where there are no bores. The club is

## Town & Country

| | |
|---|---|
| 25 cents a copy | Five dollars a year |
| 3 issues a month | 36 issues a year |

*You can become a trial member by accepting our special offer of a six months' subscription for Two Dollars.*

TOWN & COUNTRY
8 West 40th Street, New York City

*Please enter my six months' trial subscription to TOWN & COUNTRY commencing with the next issue for which I enclose Two Dollars.*

*Name*.....

*Address*.....


of mystery that he gave—in the atmosphere that he made surround the inanimate thing—" something there is that does not love a wall " he says, and, as he plods and labors after the explanation we begin to have glimpses and revelations. His very slowness and laboriousness give a hint of this earthy mystery:

> " Something there is that does not love a wall,
> And sends the frozen ground-swell under it,
> And spills the upper boulders in the sun;
> And makes gaps even two can pass abreast.
> The work of hunters is another thing;
> I have come after them and made repair
> Where they have left not one stone on a stone,
> But they would have the rabbit out of hiding,
> To please the yelping dogs. The gaps I mean
> No one has seen them made or heard them made,
> But at spring mending time we find them there."

He has made a certain featureless blank verse his own. Using it, his men and women, who obviously have little eloquence in their natures, have a speech that sometimes lifts into beauty and tragic eloquence. " I can repeat the very words you were saying," cries the mother in " Home Burial " to her husband who has buried their child callously:

> " I can repeat the very words you were saying.
> ' Three foggy mornings and one rainy day
> Will rot the best birch fence a man can build.'
> Think of it, talk like that at such a time!
> What had how long it takes a birch to rot
> To do with what was in the darkened parlor.
> You couldn't care! The nearest friends can go
> With any one to death, comes so far short
> They might as well not try to go at all.
> No, from the time when one is sick to death,
> One is alone, and he dies more alone.
> Friends make pretense of following to the grave,
> But before one is in it, their minds are turned
> And making the best of their way back to life
> And living people, and things they understand."

Mr. Frost's recent volume, " Mountain Interval," has more of the personal, less of the communal life. Only in a few poems does he give us those detached dramatic pieces that made the bulk of " North of Boston." The sense of personal life comes from the sonnets and from the dramatic sequence that he calls " The Hill Wife." In these few dramatic lyrics there is a poetic grace that his featureless blank verse did not reveal. The poem before the last one in the sequence, " The Oft-repeated Dream " has what is rare in American poetry—the mystery-suggesting phrase:

> " She had no saying dark enough
> For the dark pine that kept
> Forever trying the window-latch
> Of the room where they slept.
>
> The tireless but ineffectual hands
> That with every futile pass
> Made the great tree seem as a little bird
> Before the mystery of glass.
>
> It never had been inside the room
> And only one of the two
> Was afraid in an oft-repeated dream
> Of what the tree might do."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The sequence and its title and its suggestions recalls "James Lee's Wife," but if it does it matches Browning's in poignancy. In "The Hill Wife" Mr. Frost, I think, attains to the finest expression of the distinctive thing he brings into literature—the tremor that comes from many haunting things.

Mr. Frost must be very much aware of this haunting, for does not one of his people cry out "Our very life depends on everything's recurring till we answer from within." For him there are no beginnings. "It would take for ever to recite all that's now new in where we find ourselves," the woman in "The Home Stretch" tells the man. And this being so, it is needful to be aware of the haunting things that try to signal to something within us. What signals to the poet of "Mountain Interval" most persistently are trees—trees by their outline, movement, sound:

> "I shall set forth for somewhere,
> I shall make the reckless choice
> Some day when they are in voice
> And tossing so as to scare
> The white clouds over them on.
> I shall have less to say
> But I shall be gone."

Both "North of Boston" and "Mountain Interval" envelop in atmosphere things, which, as it seemed, would never be brought within the domain of poetry—kitchen-sinks, stove-pipes, telegraph-poles. But if another thinks he can create poetry by cataloguing these things he will make a mistake. Mr. Frost is a poet because he knows and because he can show us a spiritual history.

PADRAIC COLUM.

# Recent Publications

*Unfinished Portraits, by Jeannette Lee. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.*

MASTERS as well as men being slaves of chance, Mrs. Lee would show how the greatest art has been diverted, transformed by mere accident. "Unfinished Portraits" include episodes, some legendary, others purely fictitious, in the lives of Leonardo, Titian, Schubert, Chopin, Bach and Dürer, each of which reveals a relationship incomplete, a masterpiece unfinished. Ingenious as this underlying motif undeniably is, it makes the path for this particular hero-worshipper unusually thorny. The well-worn tale of Leonardo and La Gioconda is legitimate and so is the less authenticated story of Zarato, Titian's "Man with the Glove," but when the analogy reaches Schubert and his Serenade, it is tenuous. Parted lovers furnish the only link. A sentimentality harmonizing best with the Bach incident vitiates in others the essence of reality. Faulty visual images contribute to the impression of artificiality, as for example when Leonardo is dead: "The French King was riding merrily. He carolled a gay chanson. . . . Francesco Melzi saluted and drew rein. He spoke a word in the monarch's ear. The two men stood with uncovered heads. A hush fell on their chatter. The windows flamed in the crimson flood." This is a long way from the Renaissance of Cellini or even Charles Reade. Something different from this facile staccato is required to revive men and eras. At best it prettifies greatness.


THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY

A CLEARING HOUSE FOR THE BEST SOCIOLOGICAL THOUGHT OF ALL SCHOOLS

Subscription price, $2.00

*EDITORS*

*Albion W. Small, in General Charge*
*William I. Thomas, Frederick Starr, Marion Talbot, Scott E. W. Bedford, Ernest W. Burgess*

*ADVISORY-COUNCIL*

*The Officers of the American Sociological Society*

The articles published in this journal are *current* reports and discussions and cannot well be announced in advance. The past must be the guarantee of the future.

ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN 1916

Acquisitive Mimicry, by Edward A. Ross
American Democracy and the Modern Church, by Allan Hoben
A Business Man's Reflections on Labor Problems, by "Arbitrator"
The Social Survey, by E. W. Burgess
The Mind of the Citizen, by Arland D. Weeks
The Interpretation of Sociological Data, by Gustav Spiller
The Principle of Anticipation, by Edward A. Ross
Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States, by Albion W. Small
Psychic Causes of Rural Migration, by Ernest R. Groves
Culture and Environment, by A. A. Goldenweiser
Rating the Nations, by Howard B. Woolston
The Organization of Effort, by Edward A. Ross
Social Devices for Impelling Women to Bear and Rear Children, by Leta S. Hollingworth
Trade Unions and Efficiency, by Ordway Tead
Exemptions as a Principle of Social Justice, by J. H. Underwood
The Organization of Will, by Edward A. Ross
Sentimentality and Social Reform, by A. J. Todd
A Neglected Opportunity and Duty in Journalism, by Victor S. Yarros
Implications of a Standard of Living, by Maurice B. Hexter
The Organization of Thought, by Edward A. Ross

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
Chicago, Illinois

SPEAK A FOREIGN LANGUAGE !!

The War has created unlimited commercial opportunities for those who know Spanish, French, German or Italian. Take advantage of the war situation! Better your position and increase your salary. Extend your business. Establish export trade with South American countries. Equip yourself to read foreign books and papers. Brush up on the language you studied at school or college and make it of practical use. Acquire a new language at home, by the

LANGUAGE-PHONE METHOD

And Rosenthal's Method of Practical Linguistry
(Highest Award Panama-Pacific Exposition)

This is the natural way to learn a foreign language. You hear the living voice of a native professor pronounce each word and phrase. He speaks as you desire—slowly or quickly, for minutes or hours at a time. It is a pleasant, fascinating study; no tedious rules or memorizing. It is not expensive—all members of the family can use it. You simply practice during spare moments or at convenient times, and in a surprisingly short time you speak, read and understand a new language.

*Write for free "Language Treatise," particulars of Trial Offer. Easy Payments. Our records fit all talking machines.*

The Language Phone Method, 953 Putnam Bldg., 2 W. 45th St., N.Y.



Too Big For Christmas Trees

but, CYPRESS, the Wood Eternal, is the Champion Pergola lumber—you can see why. The same goes for arbors, trellises, sleeping balconies, (dahlia stakes might be mentioned) and pasture fences. Also for Colonial doorways. Likewise barns. Not to mention Library Interiors (with sugi finish) and humble kitchen sinks that don't warp. CYPRESS is "some wood," all right.

*All-round Helps Department*

Southern Cypress Mfrs.' Ass'n

1255 Hibernia Bank Building, New Orleans, La.
1255 Heard Nat'l Bank Building, Jacksonville, Fla.


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# IMPORTANT NEW PUBLICATIONS

**Ask about them at your book store, and write for our complete catalog**

## *Conrad Aiken's New Book*

# THE JIG OF FORSLIN

***"One man's adventures in other men's lives"***

". . . Permanent additions to the art, volumes that will have readers and admirers for a long time to come—as Robinson's *Man Against the Sky*, Masters' *Songs and Satires* and *The Great Valley*, Aiken's *Turns and Movies* and *The Jig of Forslin* . . ."—William Stanley Braithwaite in his Review of the Year's Poetry, *Boston Transcript.*

The author of *Earth Triumphant* and *Turns and Movies*, whom the Century Magazine calls one of the most important of the younger American poets, has written a new book in an untried literary form—a novel of adventure in verse. A wealth of startling and absorbing episode, poetry of an unusual and stimulating beauty, and a powerful Freudian motive that runs through the narrative, combine to make what we believe will be hailed not only the most interesting *poem* but also the most interesting *novel* of the season.

*Binding uniform with "Earth Triumphant," and with a strikingly beautiful jacket in four colors by Dorothy Pulis Lathrop.* Net **$1.25**

***First Authorized Translation of***

**IBSEN'S BRAND.** In English verse, rhymed and in the original metre. By Miles M. Dawson. "Mr. Dawson's spirited and brilliant translation . . . the standard version for admirers of Scandinavian literature."—*N. Y. Sun.*
"Well-nigh a literary marvel."—Richard Burton.
"A large measure of success in one of the most difficult of tasks."—Edmund Gosse.
Velma Swanston Howard, translator of Selma Lagerlöf, says: "Lovers of Ibsen cannot but feel grateful for so fine, so vital, so true and adequate an interpretation of *Brand* which is a classic that may well be ranked with the Book of Job."
*Uniform with Ibsen's other works.* Net **$1.50**

***The Powerful Emotional Narrative***

**IN SUNDAY'S TENT.** Lewis Worthington Smith's timely story in verse of one who struggled up to the light—the first serious literary attempt to paint the powerful appeal of Billy Sunday's campaign.
*Two-color jacket by F. C. Sanborn.* Net **50 cents**

***William Schuyler's Historical Novel***

**THE HOPE OF GLORY.** By the author of *Under Pontius Pilate.* "A distinguished performance in the evocation of a vanished age and in the presentation of the character of men who shook and shaped the world."—William Marion Reedy in *Reedy's Mirror.*
*Introductory essay by Mary Fisher, author of "The Journal of a Recluse."* Net **$1.50**

***Stanwood Cobb's Charming Romance***

**AYESHA OF THE BOSPHORUS.** A novel of Constantinople, by the author of *The Real Turk.* Frontispiece by Darius Cobb. Net **$1.00**

***An Unusual Travel Book for Girls***

**KATHARINE IN NORTHERN SPAIN.** By Mary Hosmer Brown. Most parts of the globe have been described in travel books for children, but this is the first book about the fascinating country in Northern Spain.
*With a frontispiece and many drawings by J. Randolph Brown.* Net **50 cents**

## *The Contemporary Series*

***Gordon Bottomley's New Play***

**LAODICE AND DANAE.** An image of Oriental passion.
"A dreamy, sensuous imagination and a blank verse I should like to burn in a brazier, holding my nostrils to the flame."—O. W. Firkins in *N. Y. Nation.*
"An authentic poet, whose work is of surpassing quality."—*Baltimore Evening Sun.*
*Old rose wrappers. Cover design by Count F. von. Bayros.* Net **60 cents**

**HORIZONS.** By Robert Alden Sanborn.
"Such pure essence of poetry as this shows . . . convinces me that there is a true and fine poet to be reckoned with here."—William Stanley Braithwaite in *Boston Transcript.*
*Blue wrappers. Cover design by Elihu Vedder.* Net **60 cents**

**THE ENGLISH TONGUE.** By Lewis Worthington Smith.
War ballads—a group of inspiring and fiery lyrics by the author of *Ships in Port.*
"It is a great joy to hear the ring of a voice actually saying something at a time when we have been so tolerant that good and ill have lost their meaning for most men of letters."—Alfred Noyes.
*Red wrappers. Cover design by J. Randolph Brown.* Net **60 cents**

***Richard Aldington's Verse***

**IMAGES—OLD AND NEW**
"Here is a style like a sword-blade, bright, keen, nervous, and never exuberant."—John Gould Fletcher in *Poetry.*
*Green wrappers. Cover design by J. Randolph Brown.* Net **60 cents**

**THE TRAGEDY.** By Gilbert Moyle. A fantasy by the author of *The Long Way.*
"The story is told in verse of simplicity and real charm."—*Los Angeles Times.*
*Brown wrappers. Cover design by José Ruelas.* Net **60 cents**

**FIVE MEN AND POMPEY.** By Stephen Vincent Benét.
A series of dramatic portraits.
"The love song of Lucullus is really beautiful, and Mr. Bénet's book would be worth reading for that one thing alone."—*Los Angeles Graphic.*
*Purple wrappers. Cover design by Elihu Vedder.* Net **60 cents**

Each volume in The Contemporary Series is about five by seven inches in size, printed on heavy antique paper, and bound in a colored wrapper over boards, in a format popular in Europe and Latin-America, but which has never been adequately adapted for sale in this country. An unusual and distinctive series, to which new titles are being added regularly. Send for a complete descriptive catalog.

**Published By** **THE FOUR SEAS COMPANY** **67 Corn Hill BOSTON**

***Publishers of the Poetry Journal***


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*The Conscript Mother, by Robert Herrick. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $.50.*

IN what degree war raises humanity above itself Mr. Herrick conveys. It is a picture, dark-toned and accented by vivid flashes of emotion, of Italy's entrance into the war, and of one mother's exaltation by the act of sacrifice above all cheap excitements and sentimental regrets. In five minutes passed with her son on a shell-swept road "up north" Signora Maironi attained the peace which comes from loyalty to a great cause. "I am content," was her verdict. It is at least as integral a part of war as the more familiar "horrors." Mr. Herrick shows us the new Italy, of his "World Decision," her lower nature overcome by her finer parts, her people united in the supreme test, the barriers of class swept aside as any great emotion does sweep them aside when it seizes Latin blood. The little scene of the crowd's homage to D'Annunzio as he stands in a shaft of light, appealing in "colored words" to their patriotism, lifting them out of themselves by the beauty of his sentiment—is a perfect symbol of Italy's spiritual *risorgimento,* as Mr. Herrick accepts it. Perhaps it is more perfect than the author intended it to be. He walks the brink of the sentimental precipice, but his foothold is artistically secure.

*Pincus Hood, by Arthur Hodges. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. $1.40.*

IF the author of "Pincus Hood" had possessed the power of elimination and the ability to construct plot, the good points which his book may undoubtedly claim would have been consolidated. As it is, they drift rudderless. Pincus Hood was an impecunious New York art dealer possessed of an Idea. With a heart too soft to press his claims against unremunerated, if lazy, Bohemians, he began to dream of an endowed gallery so managed as to give the artist's due to the artist rather than to the dealer. A number of the socially and financially elect were diplomatically interested by an appeal to their managerial (disguised as charitable) inclinations, and interested to such an extent that poor Pincus was in danger of being eliminated from the affair. The reader is more interested, however, in the lives of a few of the Bohemians whom Pincus yearned to help. The devotion of the gifted, threadbare Chris Mallory to a flippant heiress constitutes whatever nucleus of plot that there may be. The novel lacks plot, lacks verisimilitude, lacks coördination. There remain—characters that are interesting if not entirely real, a readable style, and a sprinkling of unmistakably American humor. With these, and after a good deal of tacking and yawing, the author brings his narrative into port.


**THE BUFFOON**

*A Borzoi Book*

**By Louis U. Wilkinson**

*"The Buffoon* is a clever, impertinent, wicked novel. It is amusing. It will shock some because of its frankness. And it contains more than one vital characterization. *The Buffoon* is capital reading."—*James Huneker.*

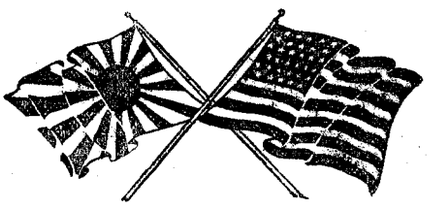
*Cloth, 430 pages. Net, $1.50*

**ALFRED A. KNOPF, *Publisher***

**220 West Forty-Second Street, New York**

*Buy the BORZOI BOOKS from your bookseller. He has them. If you want a complete catalog address the publisher.*





# Japan and America

THE greatest war in history is raging in Europe. This great calamity has made all nations—both neutral and belligerent—appreciate the importance of friendly relations between all peoples.

Now would seem to be the propitious moment for America and Japan to draw more closely to each other. And in no other way can this be accomplished as speedily and effectively as through a substantial growth in trade between these two nations. It will establish a thorough understanding between the peoples—an understanding that will develop a sympathy and good will, making for mutual profit and happiness.

It is with this object in view that The New York Evening Post will publish on December 30, 1916, the first of a series of special supplements devoted exclusively to Japan and the relations between the two countries.

Men of prominence in Japan and America, including many leading diplomats and statesmen of Japan, have written important articles for this number. The following are among the subjects:

***The Influence of Western Civilization Upon Japan***

***Japan's Contribution to Western Civilization***

***The Industrial Development of Japan***

***Japanese National Ideals***

***Status of Women in Japan***

***Japan as a Factor in International Diplomacy***

***Japan and America—Grounds for Lasting Friendship and Obstacles Thereto***

Already a number of American manufacturers have expressed their desire to become identified with this special supplement and it will contain their business announcements. Manufacturers, to whom this special supplement comes as an advertising opportunity, may participate, providing their advertising is supplied promptly.

**For further information address**

**The New York Evening Post**

*More Than a Newspaper—A National Institution.*

20 Vesey Street New York


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Mexico, the Chicago Conventions, Kitchener, Lloyd George, the Irish Revolt, Brandeis, Suffrage, Billy Sunday, the Russian Ballet, Rupert Brooke, Socialism, and musical comedy—

## here are a dozen subjects selected at random from

# *THE NEW* REPUBLIC BOOK

THEY give some indication of the range of material contained in the 68 selected articles that comprise this volume—the first hundred copies of which will be off the press and ready for delivery Christmas week.

The New Republic Book is made up of the best material that has appeared in the weekly during its first year and a half. Printed on white antique paper (there are over 375 pages), and beautifully bound in blue-gray boards, it makes a distinguished gift-book for Christmas. Among its contributors are H. G. WELLS, JOHN DEWEY, GEORGE SANTAYANA, GRAHAM WALLAS, RALPH BARTON PERRY, H. N. BRAILSFORD, L. P. JACKS, REBECCA WEST and the editors of THE NEW REPUBLIC.

The book reveals the authorship of a number of editorials which of course appeared originally unsigned—among them the paragraph on Lincoln, which a Southern newspaper described as most widely quoted editorial of the decade.

In making the selections, it was the thought of the editors to present not only the articles which might be regarded as a fair sample of the paper's work, but those which now seem to have the most permanent value. Take, for example, the series devoted to foreign policy. Starting with specific criticisms of the administration in the difficult situations it faced, these articles go on to consider our relations with Great Britain, our relations with Germany, the submarine and blockade questions, until finally they reveal the broader view of the situation which seems to make necessary the abandonment of the legal concept of neutrality and the organization of nations through some such method as the League to Enforce Peace.

Regarded simply as a cross-section of the serious thought of the times, The New Republic Book will prove interesting and provocative to any reader who values well written articles on important subjects. In short compass, and in more or less permanent form, it represents a fair share of telling thought on the urgent interests of the past two years.

THE NEW REPUBLIC BOOK—$1.50 POSTPAID

WITH A NEW SUBSCRIPTION TO THE NEW REPUBLIC—$5.00

WITH A NEW SUBSCRIPTION AND A RENEWAL—$8.00

SIMPLY PIN YOUR CHECK TO THIS STRIP, WRITE THE NAMES AND ADDRESSES IN THE BLANK OR IN THE MARGIN BELOW, AND MAIL TO THE NEW REPUBLIC, 421 WEST 21st STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

SEND THE NEW REPUBLIC BOOK TO:

*Name*

*Address*

*(Amount enclosed $*


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED